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Wednesday, 6 November, 1946

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST Court House of the Tribunal War Ministry Building Tokyo, Japan

The Tribunal met, pursuant to adjournment, at 0930.

Appearances:

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For the Tribunal, same as before with the exception of the HONORABLE R. B. PAL, Member from India, not sitting.

For the Defense Section, same as before.

(English to Japanese and Japanese to English interpretation was made by the Language Section, IMTFE.)

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now in session.

THE FRESIDENT: All the accused are present except OKAWA, HIRANUMA and MATSUI, who are represented by their respective counsel. I have certificates from the prison surgeon at Sugamo certifying to the continued illness of accused HIRANUMA and accused MATSUI and their inability to attend the trial today. The certificates will be recorded and filed.

Mr. Williams.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: I continue with the reading of prosecution exhibit No. 1009, beginning at paragraph numbered 4 of page 2:

"4. What will America gain by fighting against Japan? Does America desire to conquer Japan and exterminate the YAMATO race? There may be none in America who cherishes such an idea. Even if some may cherish such a dream, it would be absolutely impossible to realize it. Even if America could make Japan surrender, and enforce a cruel treaty upon the Japanese people, that might be comparable with the Versailles Treaty, Japan would break off such fetters or bonds within thirty years. The restoration of Germany is an example. The

constitution of Japan is not matched by that of any other country. Japan has always overcome all national difficulties, by virtue of the unbounded grace of the Emperor. There is no doubt that the restoration of Japan will be wonderfully rapid compared with Germany. The Emperor is indeed the eternal source of our national strength. Without understanding this unparalleled constitution, the Japanese nation can never be understood after all. In fine, the war between Japan and America would bring not only ruin upon the two countries, which should always be on friendly terms, but also the downfall of world civilization. America will gain nothing from the war, and calmly thinking, nothing is more absurd than the commencement of war.

"5. If Japan and America were to fight each other, the Soviets would certainly move, and if Japan were completely defeated, as America desires, the Soviets would certainly sweep all over China and at once bolshevize the greater half of the Asiatic continent by taking advantage of the circumstances. Does America welcome such an eventuality? If Japan should submit to America, the situation in East Asia would indeed be terribly confused."

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116. The diplomacy of our Empire is based upon the great principle of 'the "orld a Home' /T.N. HAKKO ICHIU/ and what Japan devotes itself to is the establishment of world-peace and the prosperity, and Japan has never had such an intention as to attack America. And so we cannot understand why America is intent on arming against Japan. and America should never be opposed to each other, but cooperate. But the speeches and moves of the statesmen in America against Japan are not only very stimulating, but also they seem to aim at large armaments sufficient to police the world. Such is not only regrettable for peace in the Pacific area, but also not to be recommended for America. I believe that America should not meddle in the 'living sphere' of other powers, but be awakened to her original responsibility or mission towards the peace of the world, and devote herself towards breaking the present world crisis, and should promote the welfare of the people in the spirit of mutual assistance and concession of the world."

We now offer in evidence IPS document No. 219P (69), which is taken from exhibit for identification No. 58. This is an excerpt from the press releases issued by the Department of State on June 13,

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1940.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual

terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 219P (69) will receive exhibit No. 1010.

("hereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1010 and was received in evidence.)

MR. E. WILLIAMS: "e read prosecution exhibit No. 1010:

"Press Release Issued by the Department of State on June 13, 1940 -- Excerpt.

"In response to inquiries from correspendents in regard to reports of the bombing of Chungking on June 12, the Secretary of State said that according to information which has reached the Department from official and unofficial sources, Chungking has been extensively bombed on each of several recent days and on June 12 was intensively and indiscriminately bombed by more than one hundred Japanese planes; that casualties of June 12 among the civil populace will probably number several hundred; that various buildings of the American Methodist Mission, including a church, were damaged by concussion."

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We offer in evidence IPS document No. 1 219P (70) from exhibit for identification No 58, 2 an excerpt from the statement of Ambassador Grew 3 to Foreign Minister MATSUOKA, Tokyo, September 13, 4 1940. THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual 6 terms. 7 3 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 9 No. 219P (70) will receive exhibit No. 1011. 10 ("hereupon, the document above 11 referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit 12 No, 1011 and was received in evidence.) 13 MR. E. "ILLIAMS: I read from prosecution 14 exhibit No. 1011: 15 "The American Ambassador in Japan (Grew) 16 to the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs 17 (MATSUOKA). 18 "Tokyo, September 13, 1940. 19 "Excellency: I have the honor to apprise 20 Your Excellency that I have received a report through

the American Embassy at Chungking that on August 19,

Episcopal Mission in that city, an American institu-

tion, was completely destroyed by fire resulting from

incendiary bombs during the course of a series of

1940, the Lewis Memorial Church of the Methodist

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raids upon Chungking by Japanese cirplanes.

"I must add in this connection, lest it be thought that this case of repeated bombing of the same American property in China is unique, that the instance of multiple Japanese bombings of the same American properties in China have been numerous.

"I have the honor to enter a most emphatic protest on behalf of my Government against this renewed attack upon the property of the Methodist Episcopal Mission at Chungking; to request that Your Excellency be good enough to furnish me a prompt report upon this latest flagrant case; to reserve all rights on behalf of the American citizens and property involved; and to point out once more, as I have on many previous occasions to Your Excellency's predecessors, the grave risk to the lives of American citizens in Chungking and in other parts of China entailed by these ruthless Japanese air bombings the damage of which to the property of American nationals alone is sufficient evidence of their indiscriminate character."

MR. BLEWETT: If your Honor please-THU PRESIDENT: Mr. Blewett.

MR. BLETETT: I ask the prosecution to announce that he has skipped from 1383B (3) down

to 219P (69), and announce to the Japanese so that they can locate the proper papers. MR. E. WILLIAMS: It has already been explained to the translators and everybody, your Honor. MR. BLEWETT: May I reiterate that request, sir? The counsel does not seem to think that it is necessary but we knew how to skip it but the Japanese counsel are looking for the papers and they are quite at sea. THE PRESIDENT: Make a brief statement for

the benefit of Japanese counsel.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: The first document which I offered in evidence this morning was No. 136 on our list and the subsequent documents will follow that number.

If it please the Tribunal, we offer in evidence IPS document No. 2200 (2) from Volume 2 of exhibit No. 58 for identification. This is a press release by the Japanese Embassy, April 15, 1940.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 220C (2) will receive exhibit No. 1012.

("hereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit

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mutual sid and interdependence.

"'Should hostilities in Europe be extended
to the Netherlands and produce repercussions, as you
say, in the Netherlands East Indies, it would not only

interfere with the maintenance and furtherance of the above-mentioned relations of economic interdependence and of co-existence and co-prosperity, but would also

No. 1012 and was received in evidence.)

MR. E. "ILLIAMS: "e read prosecution exhibit No. 1012:

"Press Release Issued by the Japanese Embassy on April 15, 1940.

"On being questioned by newspapermen concerning Japan's position with regard to possible involvement of the Netherlands in the European war and its repercussions in the Netherlands East Indies, Foreign Minister ARITA replied as follows:

"""ith the South Seas regions, especially
the Netherlands East Indies, Japan is economically
bound by an intimate relationship of mutuality in
ministering to one another's needs. Similarly,
other countries of East Asia maintain close economic
relations with these regions. That is to say, Japan,
these countries and these regions together are contributing to the prosperity of East Asia through
mutual aid and interdependence.

give rise to an undesirable situation from the standpoint of the peage and stability of East Asia. In view of these considerations, the Japanese Government cannot but be deeply concerned over any development accompanying an aggravation of the war in Europe that may affect the status quo of the Netherlands East Indies.!"

I now offer in evidence IPS document No. 220C (3)--

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Williams, at least one of my colleagues, if not others, is concerned with these jumps from diplomatic documents to bombings. One document, exhibit 1006, is dated January, 1941. The bombings so back to June and September, 1940. Could you give us any explanation of that? It may be simple; I do not know.

MR. E. "ILLIAMS: Yes, I can explain it.

There were a series of some thirty documents, in odd
numbers, which through some error got into the wrong
place in our order of proof. As soon as we discovered
that we skipped down to the proper order.

THE PRESIDENT: "e expect chronological order, or logical order, or order of subject matter, and we are not getting any.

MR. BROOKS: If the Tribunal please, I

would like to call attention to the Tribunal, starting with exhibit 967 yesterday to 976, those documents all listed the year as 1938 but the months were not in chronological order. The documents 977 to 979 were for the year 1936 -- quite a difference.

THE PRESIDENT: "e are with you, Captain Brooks, but there is no need to go into details.

MR. BROOKS: Throughout that period of continuing documents there is also that interchange of dates and years which is confusing. It puts emphasis, special emphasis, on certain points without giving the thought or the chronological theory or development that was taking place in the State Department policy. The defense has been reluctant to bring this to the Court's attention thinking there was some logical explanation, but here is a list of 457 documents arranged in the sequence that we see it there and it has been thus for some time.

THE PRESIDENT: "e expect an orderly presentation and will insist on getting it.

IR. E. "ILLIAMS: I may say that Mr. Hardin in arranging these documents -- and this does not apply to that one group of some thirty documents that I spoke of which was an inadvertence -- has tried generally to follow a chronological order but

in some places he has deviated from that for the purpose of completing a certain subject matter.

THE PRESIDENT: That would be desirable but have you done it?

MR. E. WILLIAMS: All I can say is that Mr. Hardin stated that was what he had attempted to do and I think he has done a reasonably good job under the circumstances. It is impossible to attain perfection.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Smith.

NR. SMITH: If your Honor please, immediately before the phases start, we get a list of numbers and in order to keep up with the work, we have our secretary sort these papers in chronological order according to the numbering given us. We have not received any new list of numbering and counsel are required to skip through this bale of paper. We find most of the time the documents have been read before we can even locate the paper, and I submit to your Honor, if the prosecution is going to follow a new order, they ought to give us a new list.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, if the order is changed the defense must be notified well in advance.

MR. E. "ILLIAMS: If your Honor please,

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THE PRESIDENT: Well, the Court is insisting on a change. We want, as I said before, orderly presentation.

IR. E. WILLIAMS: We now offer in evidence I. P. S. document No. 220-C(3) from Volume II of exhibit for identification 58, which is an excerpt of press release by the Department of State, Washington, April 17, 1940.

THE FRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 220-C(3) will receive exhibit No. 1013.

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1013 and received in evidence.)

R. E. WILLIAMS: We read prosecution's exhibit No. 1013:

"PRESS T LEASE IS WED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ON April 17, 1940

"Intervention in the domestic affairs of the Netherlands Indies or any alteration of their status quo by other than peaceful processes would be prejudicial to the cause of stability, peace, and security not only in the region of the Metherlands Indies but in the entire Pacific area.

"This conclusion, based on a doctrine which has universal application and for which the United States unequivocally stands, is embodied in notes exchanged on November 30, 1908, between the United States and Japan in which each of the two Governments stated that its policy was directed to the maintenance of the existing status quo in the region of the Pacific Ocean. It is reaffirmed in the notes which the United States, the British Empire, France, and Japan -- as parties to the treaty signed at Washington on December 13, 1921, relating to their insular possessions and their insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean--sent to the Netherlands Government on February 4, 1922, in which each of those Governments declared that it is firmly resolved to respect the rights of the Netherlands in relation to their insular possessions in the region of the Pacific Ocean.!"

 We now offer I. P. S. document No. 220-C(4) 1 in evidence from Volume II in exhibit for identification 58, excerpt from memorandum by Ambassador Grew in Japan, dated June 10, 1940. THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 6 No. 220-C(4) will receive exhibit No. 1014. (Thereupon, the above-mentioned docu-8 ment was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1014 9 and received in evidence.) 10 TR. E. WILLIAMS: We read prosecution exhibit 11 12 1014: "MEMORATIME BY THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) 13 14 "(TOKYO,) June 10, 1940 15 "After his opening remark above referred to, the Minister had commented that the bulk of the United States fleet remains in Haweiian waters. My reply was that 17 18 Hawaii is American territory and that one of our most important naval ports is that of Pearl Herbor, and I went on to say that the fact that our fleet remains in Hawaiian 20 waters represents no threat whatsoever to Japan. The 22 Minister, however, replied that the continued stay of our 23 fleet in those waters constitutes an implied suspicion of 24 the intentions of Japan vis-a-vis the Netherlands East 25 Indies and the South Seas, and he desired categorically to

assert that Japan entertains no territorial ambitions. Quite to the contrary, he added, Japan is exerting her best efforts to promote good relations with her neighbors, and he cited as an example that a non-aggression pact is to be signed within a few days with Thailand. The emphasis which the Minister placed upon this matter is an indication of the important effect on Japanese consciousness of the stay of our naval forces in Hawaii."

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Now, if it please the Tribunal, we have a series -- 1589 series -- series of documents relating to relations between the United Kingdom, the British Empire on the one hand, and Japan on the other. No. 1589-A is a telegram No. 3930, from Ambassador SHIGE-MITSU in London to Foreign Minister ARITA, dated February 13, 1940.

We offer I. P. S. document No. 1589-A in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 1589-A will receive exhibit No. 1015.

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1015 and received in evidence.)

THE PRESIDENT: I'r. Blewett.

MR. BLEWETT: If your Honor please, this document now offered and the following one do not have certificates or any source of authenticity. I notice that the balance of the numbers from 1589-C onwards have certificates. I should like to inquire of the prosecution regarding the source of these two documents.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: The documents on their face show that they come from the Foreign Office of the

Japanese Government. They were provided by Mr. Comyns 1 Carr, representing the United Kingdon, and if it is 2 necessary to have any additional certificate, they 3 will be provided in due course. 4 THE PRESIDENT: There should be a certificate 5 showing where it came from. 6 MR. E. JWILLIAMS: May it be received condi-7 tionally? 8 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted conditionally and 9 otherwise on the usual terms. 10 Read it, please. 11 Are you not going to read it? 12 MR. E. WILLIAMS: You have not given it a 13 number yet. 14 CLERK OF THE COURT: It has been. 15 THE PRESIDENT: It has been numbered. 16 CLERK OF THE COURT: 1015. 17 MR. FURNESS: If the Court please, I believe 18 we received these documents yesterday afternoon. 19 20 MR. E. WILLIAMS: We read prosecution's exhibit 21 No. 1015: 22 "COPY OF TELEGRAM No. 3930. From Ambassador SWIGFMITSU in London to Foreign Minister ARITA. Dispatched from 23 London February 13, p.m., 1940. Received at this Ministry February 14, a.m., 1940. 24 "Section in Charge 25 "No. 221 (Secret Code)"

"(Top Secret, per Embassy long-distance /T.N. 'Kan-cho'/ Code).

*In the interview with Vice-Minister BUTLER on the 8th, he told SHIGHMITSU that Foreign Minister HALIFAX had said that 30th was the memorial day of signature of Anglo-Japanese Alliance. It was not by mere chance. Foreign Minister HALIFAX who assumed the office just like Lord LANSDOWNE, from the viceroy of India, always studied the details of conclusion of Anglo-Japanese Alliance and was influenced by Lord LANSDOWNE. Vice-Minister told me that Foreign Minister believed in the possibility of solving practically all international questions through negotiation, Lord LANSDOWNE had proposed to open a negotiation with GFPMANY in 1917 when the former great war was in the climax which Foreign Minister already studied and also that although it might be impossible to take into consideration of negotiation in the present condition of the war, it was interesting to find common facts between both cases. I hope it will furnish you with some information."

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We tender in evidence I. P. S. document 1589-B, another telegram from Ambassador SHIGEMITSU in London to Foreign Minister ARITA, dated March 23, 1940, being telegram No. 7657. THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Blewett. 5 IR. BLEWETT: May I remind the Court that 6 we interpose the same objection to this document, please. 7 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the same terms as 9 the previous document. 10 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 11 No. 1589-B will receive exhibit No. 1016. 12 (Whereupon, the above-mentioned ducu-13 ment was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1016 14 and received in evidence.) 15 MR. E. WILLIAMS: We read prosecution's ex-16 hibit 1016: 17 "TELEGRAM No. 7657. From Ambassador SHIGEMITSU 18 to Foreign Minister ARITA. Code cypher. Dispatched P.M. 19 23 March 1940. Received P.M. 24 March 1940. 20 "No. 459 (Embassy Long Distance Code). 21 "The solution of FINLAND question gave a re-22 markable blow to the political conditions of both GREAT 23 BRITAIN and FRANCE, consequently general policies of both 24 countries, especially that for SOVIET UNION will be dis-25 cussed thoroughly. In the coming Easter holidays, as

they are just after the political change in FRANCE, the British Government authorities are presumed to contemplate British foreign policies, so I took it advantageous for disposal of China Affairs from the point of view of our international relations to explain fully beforehand the establishment of WANG's government now in progress and our attitude for it to British side, therefore, in the evening of 21st, I visited Vice-Minister BUTLER in the Foreign Office and had the following private talk:-

"1. First of all, I explained fully the development of new state of things in CHINA based upon the news brought by Domei recently, for reference of Foreign Minister;

"(a) As the previous activity of "ANG Ching-wei, I explained KONOYE's three principles which constitute fundamental relations between JAPAN and CHINA, next as Chinese side, the relation between Peiking and Nanking governments as well as measures for internal relation of Kuomintang.

"(b) Next I explained in detail the organization and decisions of the whole national assembly held after WANG's entry into Nanking on 17th and that the new central government would be established on March 30th by the Chinese for CHINA and the Chinese; (omis-

sion) and its administrative policies are cooperation for peace at home and abroad as well as anti-communism; and further, I

"(c) explained that the Japanese policy for it was to do the purport so often explained thoroughly, that is, to establish peace and order as well as cooperation in CHINA, not to exclude any other than communistic and Bolshevik elements who plot confusion and conflicts, and to offer cooperation and friendship for that purpose; this policy will be warmly received by both Chinese and foreign nationals, therefore, it must be a matter for congratulation if some compromise would be found between the new central government and Chungking government based upon the above-mentioned purport; in short, it was a pivotal point to exclude the Bolshevism as a source of confusion and to recover the peace and order; and I told him that British government would understand the Japanese attitude, as the former had the most economic interest in CHINA.

"2. BUTLER said that British Government could not immediately change her policy of having recognized Chungking Government as the formal Chinese government, but he understood my explanation and hoped the new government would be successful; as for Tientsin problem, he further issued an instruction today (he ex-

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plained the contents of the instruction) which would prove of service for the settlement of the problem; the settlement of Tientsin problem just at the time of the establishment of "ANG's Government is a 'gesture' on the part of Britain expressing her desire to be of any service. (I told BUTLER that, according to newspaper information, recently Ambassador CRAIGIE proposed to our Foreign Minister ARITA the strong attitude of BRITAIN for the execution of the war; for this BUTLER said that, according to the dispatch from the Ambassador he seemed to have explained Premier CHUPCHILL's speech in detail, it was not by their specific instruction.)

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"3. I asked BUTLER about the expulsion of Brit from Labor Party and SOVIET UNION's problem, for which BUTLER explained as follows:-

"I am a contact man with the Labor Party in reference to diplomatic problems. The Labor Party wishes to avoid to onen hestilities against SOVIET 20 UNION, but this opinion is getting in the direction of becoming stronger. The communistic elements as 22 Brit who are under the direction of MOSCOV are being boycotted; consequently the public opinion of BRITAIN, to say nothing of the Government itself, is getting stronger against SOVIET UNION within the limits of

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avoiding war. The causes may be found in (1) firm attitude of FRANCE against SOVIET UNION, (2) advancement of understanding and realization of dangerous propaganda at home and abroad or destructive activities of SOVIET UNION.

"(3) Necessity of beating SOVIET UNION (by the blockade or other means) in the execution of the war against GERMANY. The anti-SOVIET feeling of Scandinavian countries was getting heightened, and enti-Bolshevik sentiments of NORTH and SOUTH AMERICA are observed to be very strong. WELLES also seemed to be aware of danger of SOVIET-UNION."

THE PRESIDENT: The Members of the Tribunal find it difficult to see much value in all this material that you are reading. Has any judgment been exercised in making selections? One of my colleagues fails to see any link between the last three documents. It certainly is not easy to see one.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: These particular documents were selected by Mr. Comyns Carr, who unquestionably had in mind the definite object that he had in view in reference to the diplomatic relations between Japan and the United Kingdom.

THE PRESIDENT: The objection is not so much to the slection of the documents, but to the selection of the readings from them.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: I think the balance of the document will probably answer your Honor's objection.

(Reading continued): "4. I told him that there seemed to be many reasons why JAPAN and BRITAIN may go further with the understandings in future taking a wide view of things of Anglo-Japanese relations from the point of view of national policy of JAPAN toward CHINA as well as general situations of the world. If my view is not ristaken, the authorities of both countries should strive to take measures to bring about this collaboration and it is also necessary to conquer

every difficulty. Vice-Finister BUTLER replied that he had felt the outline of my talk was felt as if a large picture had been painted with reference to international relations of the world and he was of the same opinion.

"5. Furtherrore, I discussed concrete problems. (1) I called his attention based on concrete examples. First of all I asked him how he thought of recent propagandistic activities of left elements in spite of the necessity of striving for not to deteriorate the relations of both countries, especially if there might be any means to guide the attitudes of Reuter and BBC (Radio Broadcast) as the development organs of public opinion; it is hard to understand that BBC broadcast the speech of Lord CECIL who attacked GERMANY and JAPAN as invaders; furthermore, it was said that the Information Ministry had offices not only in Tokyo but alse in Hongkong and Shanghai; the communications of these reporters should have been guided to go along the line of national policy, without being imposed upon by propaganda.

"BUTLER replied that as for BBC, various conditions at the time of its establishment often embarrassed them but by the proper means they would call its attention to this matter; for Reuter the same means would be taken. Times must already have been

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improved; CECIL had no social influence nowadays and it was quite imprudent to act in such a way; Reuter's actions in Tientsin was also wrong.

"In short, he said that he would take into consideration what I had said. (2) Next, as concrete 6 problems of negotiations, I /SHIGEMITSU/ proposed matters of trading and shipping of German goods and I also explained that JAPAN would continue to hold firm insistence on her neutral right; various obstacles for trade had excited both Japanese Government and people and its counter-measures would also affect the general situations. So I expressed my earnest hope to remove such obstacles. Individual problems shall be negotiated by Councillor OKAMOTO but I expressed my earnest hope that the British side would also make her best exertions. Furthermore I have demanded their considerations about the questions of obstacles for trade and shipping of goods.

"BUTLER asked me that Japanese side would understand likewise the standpoint of BRITAIN and also pay attention to the same requirements of British side and he promised that British side had no objection to make her best exertions in this matter.

"Finally BUTLER said that he would report today's interview to Foreign Minister tonight. After

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the interview I met the Foreign Minister myself but
   asked him that he would herr about the interview from
   3 BUTLER."
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MR. E. WILLIAMS: We offer in evidence I. P. S. document No. 1589-C, being telegram No. 12998 from SHIGEMITSU to ARITA dated May 13, 1940.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 1589-C will receive exhibit No. 1017.

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1017 and received in evidence.)

MR. E. WILLIAMS: We read prosecution

exhibit No. 1017:

"Copy of Telegram. General Number 12998.

'Cipher Code.' From Ambassador SHIGENITSU to

Foreign Minister ARITA. Dispatched from London
May 13, p.m., 1940. Received at this Ministry
May 14, p.m., 1940.

"No. 771 (Ambassador's Code)

"1. The invasion of German army into
HOLLAND and BELGIUM has caused the direct conflict
with British and French armies and it is evident that
HITLER made up his mind to stake all on this undertaking as seen from the declaration of the expedition."

.25

BELGIUM, the German army may be hard to foresee if they settle in positional warfare for a time, but judging from the public opinion of ITALY, although HITLER's present enterprise has been aroused by the positive policy of BRITAIN and FRANCE, the scale may be far larger than that generally supposed. If he will succeed, he will not leave his army only in occupation of HOLLAND and BELGIUM. Therefore, it is of course necessary for us to make arrangements taking into consideration every possibility.

may be determined based upon that already adopted for Dutch East Indian problems and we may make headway on three points, viz., (a) JAPAN has no intention of changing the status quo on the whole, (b) neither belligerent nor neutral country shall interfere with the status quo. (c) Interests of the natives should firstly be considered (of course these three points may be expressed in proper order and circumstances) (Refer telegram No. 1593 of last year).

"3. From the above mentioned standpoints, if we investigate the relations with the UNITED STATES

or SOVIET UNION or belligerent countries in general, it is the urgent need to take measures to make conciliation of JAPAN and CHINA as Oriental people in order to establish firmly our leading position in EAST ASIA. As we are leading Chinese people in most of the things nowadays, the conciliation of WANG and CHIANG or that of CHIANG and JAPAN may be advantageous to us regardless of its conditions. Unless we shall have promptly settled Chinese questions, we shall be placed in a disadvantageous situation, irrespective of the development of situation.

"Even if HITLER's success on land may be decisive, Naval Powers of BRITAIN and FRANCE may remain strong enough. Or even if FRANCE may be overwhelmed, the war will not be ended. GERMANY is in the internal condition to meet the needs of continuing victories, while BRITAIN and FRANCE have special characteristics to solidify the national union by the defeat. This is an important matter not to be overlooked. If HITLER's success on land will be kept in check, the powers of BRITAIN and FRANCE will remarkably rally. In any case, the change of situation hereafter is getting more and more important, and by the backing of SOVIET UNION the situation will be more and more complex. Taking into consideration of the superiority of GERMANY on

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land and that of BRITAIN and FRANCE at sea, we have to apply our national policies for CHINA and SOUTH SEAS, in accordance with the policy to make our situation in the EAST ASIA firm and stable. The most part of this cable may be the repetition of my former one, but I dare to send in view of the present situation.

"Cabled to AMERICA, FRANCE, TURKEY, GERMANY and ITALY.

"ASK ITALY to cable to GERMANY."

THE PRESIDENT: Probably the only part of that worth reading was paragraph two and the last sentence of paragraph three.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: Exhibits 1015 and 1016 -if the Court please, may I say in reference to exhibits
1015 and 1016 that the original certificates are
attached to the original documents which were filed
with the Court. Apparently there has been -- I am
afraid there has been a failure to serve copies on the
defense. That will be remedied.

We offer in evidence I. P. S. document No. 1589-D, being telegram No. 14597 from SHIGEMITSU to ARITA dated May 25, 1940.

THE PRESIDENT: Captain Brooks.

MR. BROOKS: If the Court please, defense

finds the certificates proper on the other two documents that were admitted conditionally.

THE PRESIDENT: Then the condition has been met in each case. The document last tendered is admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 1589-D will receive exhibit No. 1018.

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned docu-

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1018 and received in evidence.)

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MR. E. WILLIAMS: We read prosecution's exhibit 1018:

"COLY OF TELEGRAM. No. 14597. From Ambassedor SHIGHLITSU to Foreign Minister ARITA. Despatched from London, May 25, p.m., 1940. Received at this Ministry, May 26, p.m., 1940. Code Cipher.

No. 868 (Ambassador's Code)

"1. In spite of desperate efforts of British and French armies, the general trend of the land action on the Belgium-French border line has already been made clear. Although the battle will be further continued under the firm resolution of both BRITAIN and FRANCE, it is needless to say that we are required to cope with whatever change in the international situation may occur. As for JAPAN, as the result of present war, she should shoulder willy-nilly the responsibility for the stability of EAST AGIA, which occupies one third of the world, so I think it may be advantageous to strengthen our position there even a little in order to take an active part in the future international arena. I think this measure will be of service to secure the foundation to cope with international situations after the war regardless of the issue of

belligerent nowers.

"2. From the above-said point of view, as I have already proposed, as fas as JAPAN takes the lead of general situations in CHINA, it is necessary to take measures to conciliate with various parts or powers with reference to CHINA problems, but if we leave the China-Japanese relations in the great dispute, EUROPE and AMERICA will take advantage of this chance and our international position will be restricted after the war and our future diplomacy will suffer difficulties.

"3. In this case, in order to prevent the war to spread into the FAST ASIA, we had better take measure once again.

- "(a) JAPAN will inform her intention to various powers formally and at the same time take measure to realize her desire of the withdrawal of the troops of the belligerent powers from CHINA, as expressed by us at the beginning of the war.
- "(b) JAPAN must reconsider the declaration of 'Three hundred-miles Principle' (Act of warfare cannot be permitted tacitly in the area three

hundred miles off the coast of
JAPAN, MANCHURIA and CHINA. This
does not involve the territorial
waters of JAPAN) after the fashion
of both North and South American
countries (according to the explanation of Brazilian Ambassador in
this country, 'Three hundred-miles
principle' will be proposed by
NORTH and SOUTH AMERICA after the
war to be adopted as an international
agreement.)

"Of course, it is more effective to take these measures by diplomatic procedure, rather than under the pressure of military side nor of public opinion.

"I proposed these opinions from the noint of view of strengthening our diplomatic foundation in the case of completion of the war.

"Cabled the same to America, Italy and France.
"Asked Italy to cable to Germany."

Now we offer IPS document No. 1589-E, tele-1 gram No. 17,724, from SHIGEMITSU to ARITA, dated 2 June 19, 1940. 3 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 4 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 5 No. 1589-E will receive exhibit No. 1019. 6 (Whereupon, the document above 7 mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit 8 No. 1019 and received in evidence.) 9 MR. E. WILLIAMS: (Reading) 10 "COPY OF TELEGRAM No. 17724 11 "From Ambassador SHIGEMITSU 12 To Foreign Minister ARITA 13 "Despatched from London, p.m., June 19, 1940 14 "Received at this Ministry, p.m., June 20, 1940 15 "No. 1040 (Embassy Long Pistance Code) 16 "It is needless to say that it is quite advan-17 tageous to make use of European War to strengthen the 18 position of Japan in the East Asia. For that purpose 19 I cable following items regarding Outgoing Telegram 20

No. 922, which I have noticed:

"1. It is quite important to watch the atti-

tude of the United States to say nothing of paying

attention to the condition of France, in the case of

taking positive colicy for French Indo-China and others."

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The may be difficult for the United States to enter the war before the election, but no one can foretell that Japanese activity will not excite here. (Full investigation must be done concerning financial and economical matters of both Britain and the United States, to say nothing of their naval rowers. If the surrender of France will be realized, her plantations in South Pacific Ocean will be probably interfered with by Australia and in that case Japan may grasp the opportunity to take positive activity; but as for our activity, neither discussion of press will be allowed nor news will be published except those intended by the Government.

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eign policy to state that Japan is gravely concerned with the stability of East Asia (including South Seas), and is resolved that the spread of European war must be prevented, and is taking policy to exclude the conditions destructive to the said stability and also to prevent those which may be destructive, especially to make clear that Japan will not tolerate to leave Orientals and East Asia districts as the plantation and object of trade to be exploited by capitalism of Europe and I think it is the best chance to elucidate our fundamental policy relating to Fast Asia and

Orientals today (which will yield good results in Chinese problems); and it is most important as the background of our foreign volicies.

"3. If the districts of Fast Asia and South Sees, which is so-called living erea ('Lebensraum'), should be owned by a certain great nower, Japan would be driven to dare the risk of war with that country and the stability of East Asia would be deteriorated. Therefore, I think it is of necessity to take courage to prevent it today. I believe that Germany and Italy will fully understand this matter.

"4. British Impire has elucidated that she will continue the war to the end even if France would surrender and stated her confidence even if the Germen army should invede England. But, anyhow, it is clear that the topographically Great Britain will not be so simply inveded as France and attention must be paid to the future development. As it is evident that the influence of Europe to Orient will be remarkable reduced after the war, Japan had better, I presume, take advantage of this opportunity to establish our position in East Asia firmly.

"Cabled to Britain, Germany and Italy."

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THE PRESIDENT: Major Furness.

MR. FURNESS: If the Court please, we received these documents yesterday with a great many other documents. I have not had time to have the translation checked and wish to reserve my right to question it if the check which I will later make shows it should be questioned. I am referring to exhibits 1015 to 1019.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. F. WILLIAMS: We tender in evidence IPS document No. 1589-F, telegram No. 20,394, from KURUSU in Berlin to Minister ARITA, dated July 10, 1940.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 1589-F will receive exhibit No. 1020.

(Whereupon, the document above mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1020 and received in evidence.)

MR. D. WILLIAMS: We read prosecution's exhibit No. 1020:

"TELEGRAM No. 20,394. From Ambassador KURUSU in Berlin to Foreign Minister ARITA on July 10, 1940.
No. 870-1 (Chief Code)

"Concerning your telegram No. 427. "From Ambassador SATO:-

"After long absence of Foreign Minister RIBBENTROP, we could see him at last in Berlin on 8th of this month. I interviewed him for about an hour and twenty minutes accompanied by Ambassador KURUSU and Minister KAWAI and exchanged views with him which may be supprarized as follows:-

"1. To begin with I tendered Japanese Government's congratulation to GERMANY's steady progress towards the establishment of new order in EUROPE and especially great success achieved in FRANCE. I expressed that at this opportunity of passing Berlin, I should like to corver the opinions of the Japanese Government by the order of the same and as I shall soon be back home, I should like to carry the opinion of the German Government to JAPAN, and explained items listed in the telegram stated above. Further I stated that taking for granted RIBBENTROP already knew the views of Japanese Government on problems of DUTCH EAST INDIES and FRENCH INDO-CHINA through the successive explanations of Ambassador KURUSU to Foreign Vice-Minister, so I expressed my hope to hear the opinions of RIBBENTROP on the same matter. RIBBENTROP, always paying

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attention to me, replied that it was great pleasure for GELLIANY to know that Japanese Government desired to cooperate with German Government on various problems and it was also a well-known fact that in the past she had endeavored to reach full understanding by close cooperation with JAPAN. However, although he himself knows well what GERLANY wants to do, he is regretful that he does not posses any definite knowledge regarding whereabouts of the Japanese intention, so he was eager to know in concrete form what JAPAN really hopes, regarding as I do that cooperation of both countries is quite necessary. He further said that JAPAN's actions in the FAR EAST had given considerable effect on EUROPE by which GEREANY gained great facilities as I explained and also that it was a real fact that JAPAN obtained various interests concerning CHINA problems by the aid of friendly attitude of GEFMANY and if she had not assumed such amicable attitude, the great war successes that JAPAN had obtained in CHINA till now might not be expected.

"2. Accordingly, I /SATO/ explained my view on the fundamental policy of seceding from NinePower Treaty system with the same principle as explained to the Italian authorities the other day

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pointing that it is true that former Japanese diplomatic policy might have been apparently difficult to grasp its pivotal points; really it might have been caused by the great change of former policy by reason of change of situations as the result of various diplomatic difficulties and obstacles which JAPAN encountered as long as nine years, since the outbreak of MANCHURIAN Incident, during which JAPAN was obliged to admit of inviting outward suspicions caused by the change of policies, but the pivotal point for which JAPAN pushed these nine years, especially those three years was the establishment of new order in CHINA, that is to say, building up of new CHINA seceded from Washington Treaty system and in friendly relation with JAPAN and consequently she has been struggling with such great powers as BRITAIN, the UNITED STATES and FRANCE."

THE PRESIDENT: The heading suggests this comes from KURUSU, but actually it is from SATO.

IR. E. WILLIAMS: Apparently it represents a combined conference of KURUSU and SATO with SATO making it.

THE PRESIDENT: We will recess for fifteen minutes.

(Whereupon, at 1045, a recess was

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taken until 1100, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:)

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International

Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Hardin.

MR. HANDIN: (Reading)

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"3. Next KIBBENTROP asked me if the said problem of establishment of new order was the only one which made the understanding between JAPAN and AMERICA difficult among the problems pending between the two countries or besides if the problem of equality of naval power between JAPAN and AMERICA, might not endanger the diplomatic relations of both countries. Thereupon I replied that surely CHINA problem was the greatest cause of the disputes between JAPAN and the UNITED STATES; as Americans professed to be a protector of CHINA for right or wrong, they were not pleased of the advocacy of establishing of new order by JAPAN and further it was always the case with the UNITED STATES to harbor desire to maintain predominance of her naval power in the Atlantic Ocean and thereby to secure the police power in the Pacific Ocean; therefore in so far as the matter concerns CHINA problems, the advocacies of both countries would remain contradictory to each other To this KIBBENTHOP said that as the result of saturation

of both capital and production in the UNITED STATES, she would be hard up for markets for her commodities after the war, so she would rather seek for arrival of favorable turn of JAPAN-U.S. relation by supplying abundance of raw materials and products voluntarily. He further went on to say that when the political power of any nation becomes stronger, the various economical problems may be settled of themselves in the desired form. For example in GERMANY, recently with the strengthening of her political power, such problems as raw materials and export of manufactured products are being settled in such a manner as satisfactory to GEALANY, in which he implicitly boasted the economical development of GERMANY after her great victory. He continued to say that although the UNITED STATES had come to possess nearly ninety per cent of the gold of the world, gold was no more the medium of exhhange for material, so even after the war, GERMANY would construct economy absolutely independent of gold at home with the exception of international trade settlement where a small amount of gold might be used. As the result of having excessive gold and the expansion of productive power in the UNITED STATES, the merchandise would overflow and she would have to concentrate her soul and mind

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upon acquisition of foreign markets, thus the
UNITED STATES would be so pressed with canvassing for
selling the goods and she would not be feared as a
great nation, he hinted.

"4. Therefore, I told him that, as I had stated 6 before, the alienation between JAPAN and the UNITED 7 STATES originated in CHINA problem and since then, 8 as the result of having neither profit nor loss in 9 CHINA, the UNITED STATES had always been adhered to 10 problems of principle, so the understanding between the two countries had been exceedingly difficult. 12 Therefore, if JAPAN would act in a devious way beyond 13 a certain extent, the UNITED STATES' public opinion would burst out and there is a possibility of imposing 15 economical pressure on JAPAN. The JAPAN-UNITED STATES commercial treaty had already been abrogated, never-17 theless the economical dependence of JAPAN upon the 18 UNITED STATES at present is far reaching and the 19 result of economical severance would be a matter of 20 great concern to JAPAN. If there would happen the 21 cessation of supply of oil, JAPAN would be obliged to turn her eyes on South Seas as her life and death 23 problem and in such a case we cannot say that there would be no danger of JAPAN-US. war. And if once this war would break out, it would give great effect upon

EUROPE. I told so far to hIBBENTROP who nodded in affirmative and looked to have been exceedingly impressed.

"5. Furthermore RIBBENTROP stated that after the Versailles Treaty, GERMANY was the one who experienced the suffering of blockade most, but now she had over-, turned her position with BRITAIN. GERMANY believed sfirmly that, as in the operation against FRANCE, she oculd also obtain complete war results in an extremely 10 short period in British operation. Consequently, when general trend of the world was viewed from econo-12 mical standpoint, EUROPE and AFRICA would belong to 13 GERMANY and ITALY, EAST ASIA to JAPAN, the remaining 14 Asiatic region to SOVIET UNION, each of which builds 15 up an economic block, in addition to this an American 16 block would be constituted under the UNITED STATES; then 17 the leading countries of each block would carry out 18 trade with surplus materials left over after con-19 sumption in each block.

20 "6. Next RIBBENTROP referred to CHINA problems
21 and as he questioned whether there was any expecta22 tion of rapid settlement of the Incident, I replied
23 that there was no expectation which might be termed
24 as rapid settlement, but anyhow, a new government of
25 WANG Chao-ming had been established and JAPAN was in

the midst of negotiation to conclude an amicable
agreement with it. Therefore, in the event of its
formation, the new government would likely to carry
out just and appropriate politics at home and abroad.

It would greatly contribute to the safety of EAST ASIA
and also give favorable effect to the UNITED STATES to
induce her to revise her recognition of the new
situation in EAST ASIA and consequently this might be
the good chance of adjusting JAPAN-U.S. relations.

'7. Further RIBBENTROP expressed that since Russo-German agreement, the boundary between both countries had been settled and made it the eternal one; and clso his satisfaction that JAPAN was endeavoring during these several months, as he previously hoped, to recover friendly relations with SOVIET UNION by solving pending problems between two countries as GERMANY had done.

"8. Finally I questioned RIBBENTROP on his view as to the measures to be taken to recover peace in EUROPE after the conclusion of military operation against BAITAIN, for which he replied that at present the nerves of the whole GERMANY were being concentrated into the military operation against BAITAIN and there was no scope to take into consideration of program or procedure of recovering peace; thus he kept himself

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off going too deep into the subject. Is the interview
  2 extended more than an hour, I told RIBBENTROP again
. 3 that he must have understood fully various problems
  4 which JaPAN had great concern and had been explained
  5 by Ambassador KURUSU and myself for which I hoped that
 6 the German Government would pay consideration.
 7 the interview was ended.
        "9. as you will understand from what I report
 9 with this cable, I could not find any definite attitude
10 on German side as shown by Italian promier regarding
11 DUTCH EAST INDIES and FRENCH INDO-CHINA. It is also
12 a great regret that I could not get any promises or
13 pledges and on the contrary it was observed that German
14 side rather avoided to give definite previous promises
15 to these problems. As there was a wish from the Ger-
16 man side, I hope you would pay attention not to have
17 the contents of this telegram be leaked outside.
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        "Cabled the same to Italy, the United States,
19 Soviet Union and Britain."
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           We tender in evidence IPS document 1589-G,
21 being telegram from Ambassador KUhUSU to Foreign Minis-
22 ter ARITA, dated July 10, 1940.
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           THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
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           CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
25 No. 1589-G will receive exhibit No. 1021.
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(Whereupon, the document above referred to 1 was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1021 and 2 received in evidence.) 3 LR. HARDIN: We read prosecution's exhibit 4 5 1021: "TELEGRAM NO. 20382 Cipher Code - From Ambassador 7 KURUSU in Berlin to Foreign Minister ARITA. Dispatched S from Berlin July 10, 1940. Received at the 9 Ministry July 10, P.M., 1940. (No. 871 - Chief Code -10 Urgent. 11 "1. .s I could understand the general outline of the policy of the Imperial Government concerning 13 JAPAN-GERMAN cooperation by the aid of your telegram No. 427, by taking advantage of the opportunity of interview of Ambassador SATO with RIBBENTROP as reported in my telegram No. 870 /No. 20394/, I shall proceed with the talk myself at appropriate time. 13 "2. But I am under the impression now that recently in Japan there are some who are too eager and worried about every smile or frown of Germany; it may be needless to say that it is very disadvantageous for our diplomatic policy to show such attitude for Germans 23 who are inclined to urge everything to us as well as n high spirits as the result of glorious victory and cannot expect good result of the cooperation concluded

under such unequal conditions.

When Ambassador SATO was going to leave after the above interview, based upon above mentioned consideration, I showed my appreciation to RIBBENTROP to the effect that by the aid of today's interview I came to find Germany's desire of JAPAN-GERMAN cooperation, and also stated that recently there were some who reported me the cool attitude of GERMANY for JAPAN and unfortunately if it were true, I, who hoped for the JAPAN-GERMAN rapprochement, thought there would be no other way than to consider some best policy under the above new situation. At this RIBBENTROP was very much astonished and denied it. Therefore, I said to him that for such method of cooperation as desired by JAPAN which RIBBENTROP questioned Ambassador SATO, a solution would be found in so far as both sides had intention of cooperation, and for that purpose I should exchange views hereafter if he wanted to do so.

"4. That night at the dinner party, I had an opportunity to talk with STAHMER who was present at the above-mentioned interview. He confidentially told me that RIBBENTROP, taking into consideration the situation after war, is thinking of cooperating with JAPAN and that although it appears that he wants to have it extend over the fields of both diplomacy and economy,

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1 it seems that he is hoping for its earliest realiza-
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    the same to Britain, the United States, Italy and the
    Soviet Union."
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MR. HARDIN: We offer in evidence IPS document
    No. 219P (92), from exhibit for identification 58,
    which is excerpts from communication from the Acting
    Secretary of State to Ambassador Grew in Japan, dated
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    August 9, 1940.
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             THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
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             CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
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   No. 219P (92) will receive exhibit No. 1022.
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                  (Whereupon, the document above referred
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        to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1022 and
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        received in evidence.)
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            MR. HARDIN: We read prosecution's exhibit
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   1022:
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            "The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador
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   in Japan (Grew).
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            "Excerpts.
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            "297
                        Washington, August 9, 1940 -- 8 p.m.
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            " At the end of June and during July of this
19 year Japanese-sponsored authorities introduced in
  portions of China new economic measures and restrictions
21 detrimental to American interests, and there occurred
   s series of incidents involving Japanese and American
  nationals. During this period there has been carried
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  on intermittently agitation directed against American
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  interest which has taken the form of mass meetings and
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demonstrations by Japanese residents and an inflammatory press campaign in the Japanese-controlled press. There were also developments in Japan which have raised questions as to the welfare and security of American nationals residing in that country.

"Developments at Shanghai have been of an especially serious character.

"At that place, acts of terrorism have been committed against reputable American citizens and established American interests, as well as against other nationals and other interests, and a judge of one of the courts established by international agreement, to which the Government of the United States is a party, has been assassinated. Newspapers subject to Japanese control have been conducting an anti-American and anti-foreign campaign, the inflammatory character of which could not but affect prejudicially peace and order.

"The Government of the United States has made due note of and is taking due account of those acts and developments which affect adversely interests of the United States and its nationals.

"An illustrative list of recent restrictions and incidents is appended.

"The summary of recent illustrative developments and incidents affecting adversely interests of

the United States and of its nationals, which I also handed to him, included the following:

3 "Establishment in North China on June 28 of 4 full import exchange control.

"Assault on July 4 at Chafoo on members of the American Presbyterian Mission by Japanese armed soldiers;

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"July 7 incident at Shanghai involving American Marines and Japanese gendarmes, including reference to restraint and good will shown by American authorities in attempting to effect reasonable adjustment and to the intemperate tone and language of communications from the concerned Japanese authorities;

"The refusal since about July 8 of Japanese military authorities of Shanghai to issue permits for shipments by American firms to the hinterland and Yangtze Valley;

"Mass meeting on July 10 in Hongkow in connection with the July 7 incident, reported intemperate statements by the commander of the Japanese naval landing party, and sensational and inciting articles published in Japanese-controlled newspapers;

"The demand of the Nanking regime for the departation from Shanghai of six /mericans and one British subject, the throwing of bombs at a Chinese

language newspaper in which an American claims an interest, and the assassination of Samuel Chang;

"Tang Liang-li's reputed letter in the North China Daily News of July 16 and a foreign newspaper commentator's interpretation thereof as a threat to kidnap if not to marder the Americans and Briton concerned;

"A report of July 19 from Shanghai that an American missionary woman at Soochow had been searched in a humiliating and insulting manner by a Japanese sentry;

"And anti-American demonstration on July 19 at Hangchow by Japanese in uniform riding in Japanese military trucks;

"Attack on July 20 at Shanghai on Hallett Abend;

"The appeal on July 20 of the Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council to the Consular Body, the public criticism of the appeal by the Japanese Consul-General, and the attempt of the Japanese Consul-General to cause the Consular Body to indicate in a resolution that 'Chungking elements' were responsible for all terrorism in Shanghai;

"The receipt on July 23 by the American Consul at Shanghai of a telegram from Amagasaki demanding

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apologies and withdrawal of American forces from China;

"The demand of the Nanking regime, reported
July 23, for the arrest of a large number of Chinese
in the Settlement, deportation of certain foreigners,
and closing down of foreign newspapers published in
the Settlement and newspaper threats that the regime
will take over Settlement police rights;

"The arrest on July 27 in Tokyo of a number of British subjects, the death of Cox, the arrest and detention of Morin, and the subsequent press werning to foreign correspondents;

"The assassination of Judge Chien on July 29 in Shanghai;

"A report of July 31 that instructions had been issued to Shanghai representatives of Japanese newspapers to look for stories on which anti-American articles might be based;

"The assassination on August 2 of a White Russian employed by an American firm, the kidnapping of a Chinese coal dealer on the same day, and the publication of anti-American articles in a Japanese-controlled paper."

Next we offer in evidence IPS document No. 1250A, duly authenticated, and ask that it be identified as an exhibit. It is a telegram from Foreign Minister

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MATSUOKA to Ambassador SHIGEMITSU dated August 5, 1940. 1 2 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLFRK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 3 4 No. 1250A will receive exhibit No. 1023. (Whereupon, the document above referred 6 to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1023 and 7 received in evidence.) 8 MR. HARDIN: We read prosecution's exhibit 9 1023: 10 "Total No.: 23849. 11 "Coded Telegram from London to the Foreign 12 Ministry. 13 "Despatched: Afternoon August 5, 1940 14 "Received: /fternoon /ugust 6, 1940. 15 "To: Foreign Minister MATSUOKA 16 "From: Ambassador SHIGEMITSU. 17 "Telegram 1356 (Code used by Head of Embassy) 18 "Please accept my hearty congratulations for 19 the establishment and enforcement of the Greater East 20 Asia Policy at this time. In this connection, I wish 21 to inform you of the following points which have 22 occurred to me though there may be parts that duplicate 23 what I have already told you: 24 "1. In the present situation, it is better, 25 in regard to our attitude towards Germany and Italy

to push forward an independent <u>parallel</u> policy. As to the extent of its application, it seems to me that the way the Soviet Union is carrying out its parallel policy will be of value.

"Italy's policy of Alliance was based on geographical necessity, but Italy will generally maintain a merely subordinate position to Germany in future. As Japan is in a very advantageous geographical position, and as her object is to establish a position in the world, I think it is fundamentally essential to secure independence of policy, Next, in order to establish our position in Greater East Asia, it would be necessary to consider measures for gaining the maximum benefits &t the minimum loss by carrying them out at the direct expense of small nations (for instance --France or Protugal) (although indirectly, it may turn out to be at the expense of Britain and America) and by avoiding conflict with other countries so as not to make many enemies at once but to dispose of them one by one.

"2. The Soviet Union, by means of its parallel policy towards Germany occupied the Baltic area and East Europe, compromised (with Germany and Italy) in the Balkans and is supposed to be about to advance towards Iran, Turkey and Iraq, (or perhaps also secure

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a position in Finland). But she is always standing strongly for neutrality, trying to avoid conflict with the big countries, such as Britain (and France), etc. but extending her power over minor countries which have no connection with the war. Actually, the Soviet Union, is siming at a thorough shake-up of the British dominions but it seems to be exercising all the skill at its command to realize the greatest gains at the least loss, while always leaving room for compromise with Britain.

Britain from East Europe and the Black See area and the same situation in Asia, namely, the transfer of the center of the British sphere of influence from Shanghai to Honkong some time ago, and then from Hongkong to Singapore, gives some idea of it. Britain is also changing her fundamental policy toward China. Even in the case of America, its strict adherence to the Monroe Doctrine signifies an attitude of retreat from East Asia. And the embargoes on oil and scrap-iron represent not a positive but a negative reliev which is defensive (or obstructionist). The policies of Fritain and America are not Joint, but Parallel policies but they have not necessarily been completely in accord hitherto as to their purpose and application. That depends

upon our attitude. If we carry out our Greater East Asia policy with a reasonable, fair and square attitude, we may properly expect Anglo-American obstructions to be removed in the natural course of events. As to our attitude toward Britain and Imerica, we need to 5 consider fully the actual benefits, while considering at the same time our principles and position. "4. Here we should be on our guard against the fact that there are active, powerfus movements afoot to draw Japan into a conflict with Pritain and 10 America in the Pacific Occan thereby precipitating an 11 uncontrollable situation in the Pacific just as Japan 12 was drawn into the China problem by the Lukowkiao 13 Incident, which they could expand into a world war, 14 so that they could fish in troubled waters. In Britain 15 end America, this movement is represented by the re-16 inforcement of the existing anti-Japanese movement 17 sponsored by the Leftists. The other one is a move-18 ment to draw Japan into a conflict by making Japan 19 provoke Britain and America. Both movements have the 20 same direct objective, though they differ in their 21 ultimate objectives. 22 "5. In short, though the main object of our 23 policy is to establish a powerful political and economic 24 position in Greater East Asia, I believe that to show 25 a liberal-minded attitude towards settling the China

problem expresses, not weakness, but strength on our part. In riew of our present high international position, it would be improper for us to be victimized by other countries, not to speak of adopting an attitude of supplication or subordination. I believe it to be the cardinal principle of diplomacy to assert what our country requires and believes, and at the same time to prevent untoward losses in complicated diplomatic relations and to devise all available means towards every country alike within the limits of their potential utility. Needless to say, it is necessary to sweeten our relations with the Soviet Union and also to proceed with scrupulous consideration and prudence in our relations with Britain and America."

MR. FURNESS: If the Court please, I question the translation of this document and request that it be referred to the Language Section, in accordance with the usual procedure.

THE PRESIDENT: We will refer it to the Language Section.

MR. HARDIN: We next offer in evidence IPS document 219P (93) from exhibit for identification 58, which is excerpts from communication from Ambassador Grew in Japan to the Japanese Foreign Minister, dated September 18, 1940.

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THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 219P (93) will receive exhibit No. 1024.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit 1024 and received in evidence.)

MR. HARDIN: (Reeding)

"The American Ambassador in Japan (Grew)
to the Japanese Minister for Foreign /ffairs (MATSUOKA)
"Excerpts.

"No. 1636 Tokyo, September 18, 1940.

Your Excellency the fact that my Government has frequently found it necessary in recent years to make representations to the Japanese Government in regard to interference with American trade in China by Japanese military authorities or by local organizations under their control. Not only have representations been made in connection with general trade and exchange measures enforced by Japanese-controlled authorities in north China, but also in connection with especially destructive interferences with American trade in individual commodities, notably hides and skins, furs, wool, radios, egg products, and embroideries. It is now necessary to bring to the attention of the Japanese

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Government widespread interference with American trade in petroleum products.

"From Kalgan to Canton, in coastal cities and in the interior, American trade in petroleum products, chiefly kerosene and candles, continues to be subjected, notwithstanding repeated representations to the local authorities by American diplomatic and consular officers, to arbitrary and unwarranted interferences."

Next we offer in evidence IPS document No.

2200 (5), taken from volume 2 of exhibit 58, and ask
that it be identified as an exhibit. This is an excerpt
from a telegram from the United States Secretary of
State to Ambassador Grew, dated September 3, 1940.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2200 (5) will receive exhibit No. 1025.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1025 and received in evidence.)

MR. HARDIN: (Recding)

"Telegram.

"The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Japan (Grew)

"(Paraphrase)

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"Excerpt. Washington, September 3, 1940 -- 6 p.m.

"334. At earliest moment possible, unless you perceive objection, please obtain further interview with Minister for Foreign Affairs and take up with him the two matters which follow, as under instruction from this Government:

"(1) Refer to the conversation you had on August 7 with the Minister (your telegram No. 672, /ugust 7, 10 p.m.) and say to him that within the past few days reports from several sources have come to the Department of State to the effect that the Government of Japan has presented an ultimatum to the French authorities in Indo-China on Japan's demands for permission to Japanese armed forces, for purposes of military operations against China, to pass through French territory and to use military bases and other facilities. The Government of the United States is reluctant to believe these reports, and it wishes to point out the unfortunate effect on American public opinion from the point of view of Japanese-/merican relations if these reports prove to be correct. Especially will this be true in view of statement which the press attributed on June 19 to a representative of the Japanese Foreign Office which said, in effect,

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I note the next article I had has been offered in evidence by another section in the past, 220-C(6).

I now offer in evidence IPS cocument 220-C(7), taken from the second volume of exhibit for identification 58, which is a statement from Ambassador Grew to Foreign Minister MATSUOKA, September 19, 1940.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 220-C(7) will be given exhibit No. 1026.

(Whereupon, the document above mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1026, and was received in evidence.)

MR. HARLIN: "Statement by the American Ambassador in Japan (Grew) to the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs MATSUOKA.

"My Government has instructed me to make the following observations in reply to the oral statement which was handed to me by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs on September 14.

"It is the opinion of my Government that the status quo of a third country is seriously affected when one of two countries which is engaged in hostilities with another insists, in order to attack the other, upon the right of the use of airdromes and the right of passage for troops through the third country. In the

light of the Japanese Government's announced desire that the status quo be maintained in the Pacific area there appears to be an inconsistency in connection with the stipulations of this nature which are being made upon the authorities in Indo-China by the Japanese Government.

"The American Government urges upon all governments the employment of peaceful means only in their
relations with all other governments and with all
other regions. The attitude of my Government toward
the unwarranted use of pressure in international relations is global.

"September 19, 1940."

I now offer IPS document 220-C(17) from exhibit for identification 58, Volume II, which is an excerpt from a message from the Japanese Embassy to the Department of State, dated October 7, 1940.

THE MONITOR: We cannot follow you, sir, since you are skipping. Will you give us the order number, please; otherwise we cannot give you simultaneous interpretation.

MR BARDIN: Code. No. 212.

THE MONITOR: Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

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No. 220-C(17) will receive exhibit No. 1027. MR. HARLIN: If it please your Honor, if 2 there is a confusion here it is caused by an effort 3 to readjust in time order. We have not had the time to distribute the list. We now read from exhibit 1027: 7 "The Japanese Ambassy to the Department of State. Excerpt. No. 235. "In view of the situation of iron and steel 10 scrap markets, the supply and demand of these materials and the volume shipped to Japan, the Japanese Government finds it difficult to concede that this measure was motivated solely by the interest of national defense of the United States. 15 "(Washington), October 7, 1940." 16 We now offer IPS document No. 699, order No. 169, with the permission of the Tribunal, in evidence. This document was captured from the Japanese Foreign Office, duly authenticated, and entitled 20 "A Memorandum Concerning Outstanding Anglo-Japanese 21 Chses in China," and dated December 24, 1938. 22 Correction: That number is 699-A, if the 23 Court please. 24 MR. BLEWETT: If the Court please, I wish to call attention to the certificate, which refers to

63 English pages, whereas the exhibit or the document 699-A seems to consist of 55 pages. 3 THE PRESIDENT: Look at the original. 4 MR. BLEWETT: I would like him to explain 5 that so we will have a record of the reason for it. 6 MR. HARDIN: The original cocument has 7 probably not been copied identically -- I mean, page 8 by page. It is there to show for itself. 9 THE PRESIDENT: I do not see any pages of 10 the original numbered at all. It is just a collection 11 of loose sheets, actually. I suppose that is how 12 they found it and they have left it in that condition. 13 Admitted on the usual terms. 14 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 15 No. 699-A will receive exhibit No. 1028. 16 (Theroupon, the document above 17 mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit 13 No. 1028, and was received in evidence.) 19 MR. HARDIN: We desire to read from prosecu-20 tion exhibit 1028, portions, although it all being in 21 evidence, only of the document. 22 "Memorandum. 23 "On the 24th December, 1938, the British 24 Ambassador handed to the then Vice-Minister for Foreign 25 Affairs a memorancum respecting outstanding Anglo-Japanese

cases in China.

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"In continuation of that document Sir Robert Craigie now communicates a further memorandum regarding the present position of the most serious cases still outstanding. It will be observed that some of the cases mentioned were included in the representations made in 1938, and these have been marked with an asterisk for convenience of reference. It is requested that special attention may be given to these cases, which have been outstanding for more than two years, and in particular to the Yangtsze claims, which are perhaps the gravest example. It will be seen that no progress has been made regarding these claims and that no payment whatever has been made in respect of them by the Japanese Government, although the latter's assurance that compensation would be given is now nearly three years old.

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will understand that the list is not intended to be exhaustive.

It will further be observed that in no less than twelve of the cases included in the list, the representations made by His Majesty's Embassy have remained without reply.

"The British Ambassador would be grateful for an early examination of all these cases, many of which

have been dragging on for more than two years. 1 "British Embassy, Tokyo. November 22nd, 1940." 2 THE PRESIDENT: Must you read all these? 3 4 MR. HARDIN: I do not intend to read all. 5 Page 3 of the reproduction: 6 "SUMMARY OF OUTSTANDING ANGO-JAPANESE CASES IN CHINA 8 "A - GENERAL 9 "SUBJECT -- FIRST REPRESENTATION -- PRESENT SITUATION 10 "1. RAILWAYS. 11 "(a) Peking-Mukden Railway. 12 "(1) Non-payment of Shanghai-Fengchiang 13 Railway mortgage redemption loan 1913." 14 This was presented October 11, 1937. 15 "(2) Non-payment of debt owing to Metro-16 politan Cammel Carriage Company. ((1) and 17 (2) being largely due to non-payment by 18 the Japanese military for railway services.) 19 "(3) Construction of a parallel railway 20 to Jehol contrary to international agreement. 21 "(4) Unification of North China Railways 22 in complete -- " 23 These various subjects have been mentioned --24 THE PRESIDENT: (Reading): "In complete 25 disregard of the British interests involved and of

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international treaties governing them." Then you read "Present Situation." MR. HARDIN: Yes, sir. (Reading): "These various subjects have been mentioned in reneated protests from October 1937 onwards. Though a general assur-ence was given in a letter from Mr. Ishii on

"July 20, 1938, that there was no intention of / infringing British rights, no satisfactory explanation has been given of the breaches of treaty involved in the actions of the Japanese authorities and no satisfactory action has been taken to respect the British interests which have been disregarded in these different ways by Japanese action. On March 24th, 1939, His Majesty's Ambassador drew attention to reports that the North China Bailway systems were to be taken over by a Japanese sponsored concern in contravention of international agreements covering the constitution of the Peking-Mukden Rail-way and requested an assurance that no such procedure was intended. No reply."

Referring to page 11 of the reproduction, omitting the caption:

"(a) Detention of S.S. Sagres', 'Lalita' and 'Dholera'.

"British S.S. 'Sagres' was seized by a Japanese destroyer in Chayuan Bay on the 8th April, 1939, British S.S. 'Lalita' was seized on 27th April near Foochow by a Japanese warship. British S.S. 'Dholera' also seized and detained by Japanese Navy."

"FIRST REPRESENTATION 1 "April 22nd, 1939. (Sagres) 2 "June 30th, 1939. (Lalita) 3 "PRESENT SITUATION 4 5 "In spite of an offer by the owner of the 6 'Lalita' and 'Dholera' to agree to waive 7 their claim for compensation upon the 8 vessels' release, under certain conditions, 9 and by the owners of the 'Sagres' to reduce 10 their claim to 510,000 on the vessel's 11 release, all three are still detained. 12 After a total of 15 communications from His 13 Majesty's Ambassador on the subject, the 14 Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied on 31st 15 July, 1940, that they would consider the 16 release of the vessels if His Majesty's 17 Government would guarantee not to requisi-18 tion them without the Japanese Government's 19 consent in the event of their being chartered 20 by Japanese interests." 21 Page 13 of the reproduction, omitting the same 22 heading: 23 "2. SHIPPING. 24 "(b) Detention of S.S. 'Sparta'.

"Greek S.S. 'Sparta' insured by

British interests, detained at Keelung. His Majesty's Embassy support Danish Legation's request for release.

"First Representations

"March 14th, 1938.

"PRLEENT SITUATION

"Japanese authorities refuse to recognize
the validity of transfer from Chinese to
Greek registry. Periodic enquiry in support
of the Danish and subsequently, of the
Greek Ministers' representations, has led
to no result.

"On 11th March, 1940, His Majesty's Ambassador states that British underwriters had now paid \$10,000 on the vessel and that His Majesty's Government viewed her detention with growing concern. On 13th April, 1940, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were informed that the transfer of the Sparta to Greek nationality was correctly carried out under Greek law. Japanese reply of 29th May, 1940, stated that vessel would not be released until suspicion of malicious transfer had been cleared up."

Page 15:

"STIBJECT

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"1. Tinkler Case.

"On 6th June, 1939, in the course of a disorder at the China Printing and Finishing Company's Mill at Pootung, a British subject named Tinkler was fatally wounded by Japanese Marines. Protests strongly against the negligent and obstructive attitude of Japanese authorities in the matter and reserves right to claim compensation.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION.

"June 17th, 1939.

"PRESENT SITUATION

"Reminder sent on May 6th, 1940, urging the disposal of this long outstanding case in the interests of Anglo-Japanese relations. "No reply."

Passing to page 22, omitting the caption: "S!'BJECT

"3. TSINGTAO. Discrimination against British Shipping and Trade.

"In spite of Japanese assurances that Three Power shipping will be given certain facilities in the port of Tsingtao, British ships have continued to be subjected to discrimin-

ation and delays. Requests speedy relaxation of the restrictions.

"FIRST RLPRESENTATION

"May 19th, 1939.

"PRESENT SITUATION

"After further communications, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied on January 20th, 1940, that steps had recently been taken by the local military authorities to provide further facilities did not, however, in practice become available and, after a reminder on April 15th, His Majesty's Ambassador made further representations on the 6th May regarding the wharf situation and renewed instances of discrimination against British shipping. Still further examples of such discrimination were made the subject of representations on the 13th June.

"No reply was received."

Page 24, omitting caption:

"SUBJECT

"4. WUTINGFU. Burning of English Methodist
Mission at Chuchia.

"English Methodist Mission was burnt by Japanese troops on December 25th in retaliation for alleged medical treatment of Chinese guerrilla. Protests energetically, requests immediate investigation and reserved right to claim.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION.

"January 9th, 1940.

"PRESENT SITUATION

"Japanese reply of February 12th states
that Mission was found to be centre of antiJapanese activities. Hospital was therefore
burnt in self-protection. His Majesty's
Ambassador replied on April 18th that His
Majesty's Government consider action of
Japanese troops totally unjustified and contrary to international law, and trust
vigorous measures will be taken to prevent
a recurrence of the incident."
Page 25.

THE PRESIDENT: I suppose you are reading these to show that the matters of which the British complained were the same as those of the Americans, or very largely so.

MR. HARDIN: As well, Mr. President, as evidence of the facts of the incident and the indifference of the Japanese in randling these claims.

THE PRESIDENT: We understand that you are handicapped in putting a case prepared by another associate prosecutor. Will that other prosecutor be likely to appear shortly? MR. HARDIN: I think that is wholly unlikely. THE PRESIDENT: Well, we will adjourn now until half past one. (Whereupon, at 1200, a recess was taken.)

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AFTERNOON SESSION

The Tribunal met, pursuant to recess, at 1330.

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Major Blakeney.

MR. BLAKENEY: I have been requested by the Russian prosecution to state that I have no objection to the return of General MATSUMURA,

Tomokatsu, to Russia. I point out, however, that his attendance was requested by me and is still desired at the time that his testimony will be needed. I have been requested also to state that I have no objection to the return of the witness SEJIMA, Ruizo, who has already testified and been cross-examined. He was excused by the Tribunal on the usual terms.

THE PRESIDENT: Is that the attitude of all the defense counsel as regards both witnesses?

MR. BL/KENEY: I haven't been able to consult them all, sir, but I think that one of my clients was the only one interested in General MATSUMURA, and Colonel SEJIMA has been crossexamined so I think we are safe in assuming that.

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THE PRESIDENT: Those two witnesses are 1 at liberty to leave Japan on the usual terms. 2 Mr. Williams. 3 MR. E. "ILLIAMS: Mr. President, during the recess Mr. Hardin has made some additional 5 effort to erase some of the irregularities in 6 chronological order of these documents. A new list 8 is being prepared which will be provided to the Secretariat, the translators and defense as soon as 10 available, but it may cause a little difficulty 11 just during this short session. 12 May I ask the Clerk to give me the 13 number, exhibit number, of the exhibit which Mr. 14 Hardin was reading at the recess? 15 CLERK OF THE COURT: No. 1028. 16 THE PRESIDENT: Page 22. 17 MR. E. WILLIAMS: Beginning at page 22: 18 THE PRESIDENT: No, I think he read 24; I 19 am not sure. Begin at page 25. 20 MR. E. "ILLIAMS: Is 25 the next, your Honor? 21 THE PRESIDENT: Yes. 22 MR. E. "ILLIAMS: I will begin reading at 23 page 25 from exhibit 1028: 24 "SUMM RY OF OUTSTANDING ANGLO-JAPANESE

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CASES IN CHINA.

"D - CENTRAL CHINA.

"SUBJECT: 1. BOMBING INCIDENTS.

"(a) Chungking -- In a raid by Japanese aircraft on 4th May, 1939, a bomb killed 2 and wounded 11 in the native staff quarters of His Majesty's Consulate, while considerable damage was done to property of His Majesty's Government. Protests vigorously and requests issue of instructions to stop indiscriminate bombing.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: May 12th, 1939.

"PRESENT SITUATION: In spite of these representations renewed damage was done to British property by repeated indiscriminate bombings of Chungking. On the 24th June, 1940, further serious damage was done to His Majesty's Consulate-General, the Consul-General's house being destroyed and 2 other houses struck. On August 5th, 1940, His Majesty's /mbassador stated that he must reserve all rights on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in regard to these attacks, that the Japanese Government must be held fully responsible for any injury to British life and property and that a claim for compensation would be entered in due course.

"SUMMARY OF OUTSTANDING ANGLO-JAPANESE

CASES IN CHINA.

"D - CENTRAL CHINA.

"SUBJECT: 1. BOMBING INCIDENTS Continued.

"(b) Ichang -- On 6th August, 1939, the Asiatic Petroleum Company's installation and two steamers belonging to Jardine, Matheson and Company were damaged and one British officer and two Chinese sailors on board the latter were wounded in a raid by Japanese aircraft. Reminds Japanese Government of their assurances regarding foreign rights and interests and hopes that stricter orders will be issued in future. Reserves right to claim compensation.

> "FIRST REPRESENTATION: August 11, 1939. "PRESENT SITUATION: No reply. "BOMBING INCIDENTS Continued.

"(c) Pakhoi -- China l'ission School Hospital at Pakhoi was bombed on August 29, 1939, although particulars of the hospital had been communicated to the Japanese Consul-General at Canton by His Majesty's Consul-General in 1938. Requests investigation and steps to prevent repetition.

> "FIRST REPRESENTATION: September 20, 1939. "PRESENT SITUATION: No reply. "BOMBING INCIDENTS Continued. "(d) Pinkiang -- In bombing of English

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Methodist Mission on Merch 15th, the Reverend /. G. 1 Leigh was killed. Protests, asks measures to ensure nonrepetition and expression of regret and reserves right to claim compensation.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: March 28, 1939. "PRESENT SITUATION: In spite of reminder sent on 10th May, no reply was received.

"BOMBING INCIDENTS Continued.

"(e) Sian -- Jenkins Robertson Memorial Hospital of the English Baptist Mission, though clearly marked, was bombed by Japanese aircraft on March 8, 1939, in spite of previous representations made in regard to this hospital in Shanghai. The operating theatre was destroyed and other damage done. Requests enquiry, assurances against recurrence end expression of regret. Reserves right to claim compensation.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: March 13, 1939. "PRESENT SITUATION: In spite of reminder sent on May 10th, no reply was received.

"2. CENTRAL CHINA BANK -- Reports are current that a new bank of issue may be set up by the Nanking authorities. Such a step would have the most unfortunate effect on trade of Third Powers and on /nglo-Japanese relations and would be incompatible

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with Japanese assurances"--

THE PRESIDENT: You left out "rumor." Is that worth reading?

MR. E. WILLIAMS: (Continuing)

"Requests information.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: May 27, 1940.

"PRESENT SITUATION: On October 23rd His Mejesty's Ambassador drew attention to a statement made by the Minister of Finance of the Nanking Government indicating that a Central bank of issue would start operations in November. Sir Robert Craigie asked that steps be taken to prevent this bank from being established. No reply."

Continuing: "SUBJECT.

"3. KIUKIANG. Refusal to allow British Subjects to re-occupy their properties.

"Representatives of Butterfield and Swire,
Jardine, Matheson and Company, Asiatic Petroleum
Company and British-American Tobacco Company have
been refused permission to return to Kiukieng although
the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company's representatives had
been allowed to do so. Assumes that Japanese Government do not propose to countenance discrimination of
this description and urges that permission should be
given to these firms to return to Kiukiang as soon as

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possible.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: May 24, 1940.

"PRESENT SITUATION: Japanese reply of 25th June stated that return of Butterfield and Swire and Asiatic Petroleum Company was impossible owing to military necessity, that permission was being reserved in case of Jardine, Matheson and Company owing to actions by the firm in the interests of the enemy, but that permission to return on certain conditions had already been granted to the British American Tobacco Company. There was no intention of deliberate discrimination against Pritish firms."

Continuing:

"4. YANGTZE DELTA. Restrictions on British Trade.

"Draws attention to following Japanese activities in Yangtze Delta: --

- "(a) Attempts to establish a system of trade permits;
- "(b) Direct interference with British shipping; and
- "(c) Discrimination against British shipping by means of the intimidation of Chinese. His Majesty's Government cannot admit the right of

Japanese authorities to restrict legitimate British trade. Moreover, the Nanking authorities recently informed the Shanghai Commission of Customs that vessels wishing to clear for certain ports must obtain certificates from the competent authorities additional to Inland Water Certificates. This would be unwarrantable interference with the Customs Administration and with legitimate foreign trade. Requests immediate issue of suitable instructions.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: June 6, 1939.

"PRESENT SITUATION: After reminder dated
June 21st pressing for issue of appropriate instructions to local authorities, Japanese Government
replied on 20th September that the Chinese Customs
authorities and the Japanese malitary authorities were
acting within their competence in view of military
necessity.

"5. YANGTZE NAVIGATION. Discrimination against British Shipping.

- "(a) Shipments of ordinary goods by Japanese ships are now freely possible.
- "(b) 80% of the goods so carried cannot be described as cargo for military requirements.
- "(c) at certain places all imports except Japanese goods are taxed."

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"FIRST REPRESENTATION: April 10, 1939.

"PRESENT SITUATION: On 1st July, 1939, His Majesty's Ambassador pointed out that German and Italian shipping was being favored to the detriment of British shipping and that the general situation had deteriorated since April 10th. No reply."

THE PRESIDENT: Omit pages 36, 37 and 38. They are not marked to be read.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: Continuing on page 39, this has to do with "Summary of Outstanding Anglo-Japanese Cases in China.

"E - South China.

"SUBJECT: 2. Sharp Peak. Proposed steamship service.

"Proposal for foreign passengers, mails, food and medical supplies for foreigners at Foochow to be brought by British steamer to neighborhood of Sharp Peak once or twice a month. Trust Japanese Government will agree on humanitarian grounds.

> "FIRST REPRESENTATION: August 23, 1940. "PRESENT SITUATION: No reply. "3. S"'ATO".

"(a) Harbor Restrictions. Port of Swatow has been closed to Third Power shipping except for one vessel a week since shortly after its occupation by

Japanese forces. Considerable quantities of goods are now being landed there from Japanese vessels, so argument that closure is due to military necessity no longer applies. Requests reopening of port.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: December 11, 1939.

"PRESENT SITU/TION: Japanese reply of
January 17, 1940, states that restrictions must be
continued for reasons of strategic necessity but that
harbor will be reopened as soon as an improvement is
seen. On March 16th His Majesty's /mbassador gave
statistics of trading activities by Japanese vessels
at Swatow as evidence that closure of port could no
longer be justified on grounds of military necessity
and requested early steps for its reopening. No reply.

"3. SWATO" Continued.

"(b) Taxation of Imports and Exports -'Swatow Rehabilitation Commission' has established
tax bureau which is levying taxes on imports and
exports as well as 'voluntary contributions' on shipments of embroideries. Requests cessation of this
further infringement of the rights of the Chinese
Maritime Customs.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: February 10, 1940.

"PRESENT SITUATION: Japanese reply of
23rd February states that an investigation is being

undertaken.

"4. HONG KONG. Infringement of Territorial "aters end Attacks on Junks.

"Attacks by Japanese naval forces on junks registered in Hong Kong or engaged in fishing for the Hong Kong market have been made by Japanese naval forces at frequent intervals from September, 1937. These incidents have often involved violation of Hong Kong territorial waters.

"PRESENT SITUATION: Repeated representations by His Majesty's Ambassador have not been successful in securing a cessation of these attacks, which are still continuing."

THE PRESIDENT: Omit 43 and 44 as not being marked for reading.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: Continuing on page 45:
"SUMMARY OF OUTSTANDING ANGLO-JAPANESE
CASES IN CHINA.

"F - Claims.

"SUBJECT: 2. S. S. ASLAN.

"Claim in respect of damage caused by the wrongful detention of the ship by the Japanese navy from February 7th to 20th and theft during detention of articles on board.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: May 1, 1938."

"PRESENT SITUATION: Japanese Government stated in their reply of June 3rd that there were insufficient documents on board and denied the theft of any articles during the ship's detention a receipt having been furnished by the Captain on

explained the situation with regard to the ship's documents, by the alleged irregularity of which the Minister for Foreign Affairs had endeavored to justify the ship's detention and pointed out that detention could have been avoided by wireless consultation of the port authorities. The receipt which the Captain had given was only for private and ship's papers. The Japanese reply of October 4th, claimed that the Japanese could not bear the entire responsibility and that, as the Captain in his receipt had stated everything was in order, there was no room for further discussion on the subject of the alleged thefts.

"3. Cases involving infringement of Hong Kong territorial waters and attack on junks.

"(a) September 22nd, 1937, Fishing junks sunk by Japanese submarine.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: January 5, 1938. "

departure from Mako.

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reply.

 "PRESENT SITUATION: His Majesty's ambassador's Note of August 15th, 1938, stated that Japanese explanation could not be accepted and presented a claim for Hong Kong \$30,469.00. The Japanese reply of September 19th refused to consider the question of responsibility, but offered an expratia payment to those fishermen who are British subject and can prove they took no part in aggression against a Japanese warship.

"3. (b) February 11, 1938. Attack on and seizure of four junks by Japanese armed motor trawler.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: February 26, 1938.

"PRESENT SITUATION: Japanese Government's reply of March 8th, stated that the incidents did not take place within British territorial waters.

His Majesty's Note of April 27th, showed that the junks in question were different from those referred to in the Japanese Government's reply. A further Note from His Majesty's Ambassador of the same date submitted a claim for Hong Kong \$12,000.00. No

"3. (c) May 3, 1938. Piracy and murder committed by Japanese sailors on a junk from Hong Kong.
"FIRST REPRESENTATION: June 17, 1938."

"PRESENT SITUATION: His Mojesty's Ambassador addressed a second Note to the Minister for
Foreign Affairs on July 8th, confirming the details
of his previous Note and on October 31st, a claim
for Hong Kong \$11,872.50 was submitted. The Japanese
Government's reply of December 6th, stated that there
had been cases in which Japanese warships had dealt
with hostile junks, but that there were no facts
corresponding to the statements in His Majesty's
Ambassador's Note of July 8th.

"4. Damage to His Majesty's Consulate at Pagado Anchorage, Foochow, during an air raid on July 1st.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: July 9, 1938.

"PRESENT SITUATION: A claim for £215.7.4 was presented by His Najesty's Ambassedor on May 3, 1939. No reply.

"5. Damage to His Majesty's Consulates and British property at Chefoo and Tsingtao in the course of anti-British demonstrations on August 11th and July 10th respectively.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: December 18, 1939.

"PRESENT SITUATION: A claim for Chinese

National \$1,554.01 and United States \$20.75 was submitted by His Majesty's Embassy on December 18th. Or

January 23, 1940, the Japanese Pinistry of Foreign Affairs replied that the anti-British movement in China had broken out spontaneously, that the Chinese organs were in control, that the matter should be discussed, therefore, between the local British and Chinese authorities and that there was no reason why the Japanese Government should bear the responsibility or receive the statement of claim. In their Note of February 12, 1940, His Majesty's Embassy pointed out that His Majesty's Government do not recognize the 'local Chinese authorities,' that Tsingtao and Chefoo were under the effective occupation of the Japanese Army and that the Japanese Government were, therefore, responsible for preventing disorder. The formula of July 22nd was intended to cover such cases. His Majesty's Embassy, therefore, maintained their claim. In their Note of March 20th, His Majesty's Embassy enquired of the Ministry whether a reply might shortly be expected but none has yet been received. "6. Attack on the Imperial Airways air-

"6. Attack on the Imperial Airways air-

"'Dardanus' on November 8, 1939, at Waichow Island, South China.

"His Majesty's Ambassador protested

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vigorously against this incident and pointed out how unwarranted such an attack on a civilian aircraft was, wherever it was flying. The identity of the aircraft must have been clear to the Japanese authorities. His Majesty's Covernment did not admit any right on the part of the Japanese Government to exclude British aircraft from any particular area, as His Majesty's Ambassador had informed the Japanese Government on February 27, 1939. His Majesty's Ambassador also took strong exception to the detention of the aircraft's two pilots for five days, reserved the right to claim compensation and requested an assurance that instructions against the repetition of such an incident had been sent to the appropriate Japanese authorities.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: November 23, 1939.

"PRESENT SITUATION: His Majesty's
Ambassador presented a claim for £1,706.8.3 for
damage and loss on January 13, 1940. A more detailed statement of this claim showing the extensive
damage suffered by the aircraft and its unairworthy
state when returned to the British authorities, was
submitted by His Majesty's Embassy on February 13th.
As no reply was received a Note enquiring whether a
settlement might soon be expected was sent to the

Ministry on March 20th. In their reply of April 23rd, the Ministry stated that as regards repairs the Imperial Japanese authorities did not take any measures at the time as a matter of obligation, but especially kind treatment was given. They stated that there was, therefore, no reason for the Japanese Government to bear any responsibility for any sort of damage in this case.

"7. GENERAL CLAIMS.

"Between June 21, 1938, and November 11, 1940, fourteen sets of claims in respect of loss suffered by British subjects as a result of the operations of the Japanese armed forces in China have been submitted. In addition, claims by Mr.

M. Hayward and by Messrs. Butterfield and Swire (in respect of their Hokai Staff Quarters at Hankow) have been submitted separately.

"FIRST REPRESENTATION: June 21, 1938.

"PRESENT SITUATION: These claims amount in all to \$414,654. 4. 7-1/4. Claims amount to \$5,000. 2. 3 only may be regarded as withdrawn, while one claim has been reduced by \$29. 17. 2, leaving a balance of \$409,624. 5. 2-1/4 outstanding under this head alone."

MR. E. WILLIAMS: We offer in evidence I. P. S. G 1 2 document 2400-A which is taken from the office of the 3 Japanese Foreign Ministry at Tokyo, duly authenticated b 4 and is entitled: Measures to be Taken Towards Natives r 5 in East Asia or Burma, the President of the Racial 6 Committee of the National Policy Research Institute, B 7 Kokuseku Kenkyu Kai, 20 September, 1940. rt THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 0 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 2400-A will receive exhibit No. 1029. 10 (Whereupon, the above-mentioned document 11 was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1029 and 12 received in evidence.) 13 THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Smith. 14 15

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MR. SMITH: If the Court please, we just located 16 this document, exhibit 1029. It does not appear to be a government document and the certificate does not purport to show that it came from the government files. We do not see how it has any connection with any defendant in this case.

MR. BROOKS: Mr. Fresident, on the certificate, it is signed by YATSUGI, who was a witness for the prosecution in this case and testified at that time that this was a private society, as I believe the record will bear us out. We have had introduced before

hypothetical situations and cases by various societies.

Now whether this is one or not, I think it is up to
the prosecution to prove or show.

THE PRESIDENT: Article 13 of the Charters says we shall admit any evidence which we think has probative value including statements which appear to the Tribunal to contain information relating to the charge.

MR. SMITH: Well, surely, your Honor -THE PRESIDENT: That we may do it -- allow me
to complete what I am saying. You know the red light
stops me as it does you. -- but we may require to be
convinced or to be satisfied that this has probative
value in the circumstances, Mr. Williams. Probative
value may readily appear where we have a certificate
that the document was found in a war ministry or in a
foreign office.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: We shall endeavor to provide such additional information as we can obtain to support and add to its probative value, your Honor.

MR. SMITH: Well, your Honor, what the prosecutor just said amounts to nothing. Certainly the provision of the Charter dealing with what constitutes evidence having a probative value refers basically to evidence related to two or more defendants in this case

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and that has not been shown that any defendant has any connection with this.

THE PRESIDENT: All the counts are not for conspiracy, you know, Mr. Smith. You forget that. It is only one or several out of fifty-five. Although this might well be appropriate to the conspiracy counts.

MR. SMITH: Well, your Honor, conspiracy is still an allegation in this case. Nobody is conceding it by any means.

THE PRESIDENT: However, Mr. Williams, it is doubtful whether this has probative value at this stage.

that there is no need of presenting a document that does not have, in the opinion of the Court, probative value. May I request that the Court indicate whether it would prefer to have the document simply marked for identification at this time or admitted conditionally?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you realize our difficulty. We know nothing about this National Policy Research Institute.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: I appreciate that, your Honor. I am not insisting.

MR. BROCKS: If the Court please, I would like to object to this being admitted conditionally, and would

1 ssk that the prosecution's attention be called to the certificate that there be no possibility of showing this coming from an official source because the certificate has already disclosed that by the witness signing there as he has already testified. THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Williams is not intending 6 to tender it for conditional admission, but to mark it 8 for identification only. You cannot object to that. 9 Well, you can have it marked for identification 10 only. 11 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 2400-A will be marked exhibit 1029 for identifi-13 cetion only. 14 (Whereupon, the above-mentioned document 15 which had previously been marked exhibit No. 1029 16 in evidence was subsequently marked exhibit No. 17 1029 for identification only.) 18 MR. E. WILLIAMS: With the Tribunel's 19 permission, we now wish to tender in evidence I. P. S. 20 document No. 1603-A. This is a document taken from 21 the Japanese Foreign Office and has been duly authenticated. It is a summary of proceedings concerning the 23 Tri-pertite Pect between Germany, Japan and Italy at a 24 Privy Council meeting, September 26, 1940; and I may say that in the old list it was No. 162.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 1603-A will receive exhibit No. 1030.

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1030 and received in evidence.)

MR. E. WILLIAMS: We read parts only from prosecution exhibit No. 1030. I read first from page 2, the last paragraph.

(Reading): "Councillor KAWAI: I consider Article III of the treaty most important. Although I do not believe in a Japanese-American war, I think that, if worst comes to worst, the War and Navy Ministers may have something in readiness to avert defeat, and on this point I beg to have an explanation that will reassure us. Moreover, we cannot say definitely that the U.S.S.R. will not start something against JAPAN. In such a case, what attitude will GERMANY take?

"War Minister TOJO: I will give my answer chiefly from the standpoint of the Army. If the worst comes to worst, only a small part of the military strength 21 will be necessary to carry out the operation against the U.S.A. I think that you need not worry on this point. However, an operation against the U.S.A. cannot be said

complete unless we consider an operation against the U.S.S.R."

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Therefore, adjustment of JAPAN-SOVIET relations is a very important matter. I think that, if we could accomplish this effectively, military preparation would be eased considerably, but when we consider the character of the U.S.S.R., JAPAN cannot neglect her own preparation. As to the CHINA Incident, we intend to bring it to a conclusion by making efficient use of this treaty before we find ourselves in the worst situation.

"Navy Minister OIKAWA: Since the war preparedness of our present Navy is complete, we will definitely not be beaten by the U.S.A., but in event of a prolonged war, it is necessary that we make sufficient preparations to keep up with the realization of the American plan for repletion of her navy. On this point, the Nevy is adopting a policy prudent in every respect.

"Councillor KAWAI: I fear nothing so much as the question of our materials. In case of a protracted war, how long will they last?

"President of the Planning Board HOSHINO: As I explained yesterday (the President gave a detailed explanation of the material mobilization plan at the regular meeting of the Privy Council on the previous day), our country has for the last few years been making preparations for self-sufficiency as regards materials. "

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Out of 2,100,000,000 yen in imports, 1,900,000,000 yen is received from ENGLAND and the U.S.A. If, therefore, the economic pressure is strengthened, it is necessary that we act prudently considering the activation of Article III of the treaty. As for iron, this year's output is expected to be 5,200,000 tons, and even at 7 the worst we can expect an output of 4,000,000 tons. At present, 1,500,000 tons are used for armaments and 9 military purposes, and the rest is allotted for the 10 repletion of productive power and for private and 11 governmental use. If we manipulate the repletion of 12 productive power, and restrict private and governmental demands, giving consideration to cases when imports of scrap iron and iron material may be stopped, we shall not find ours lves in so serious a situation. As 16 regards metals other than iron, the case is different, 17 but I think that you need not be seriously concerned, 18 for we are now endeavoring to collect them from all 19 parts of the world. Most important is petroleum. We ere at present depending greatly on ALERICA, especially 21 for aviation gasoline, almost all of which we must 22 import from AMERICA. We must try to increase its pro-23 duction at home and, at the same time, must find means 24 to secure it from places other than AMERICA. Recently, we have accumulated a considerable 'stock' of aviation

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petroleum. However, in case of a prolonged war with
2 the U.S.A., a self-sufficient supply cannot be obtained
3 solely in JAPAN, MANCHURIA, and CHINA, whereas iron
4 and other metals can be so obtained. Therefore, it
5 is necessary that we speedily secure the right to
6 obtain oil in the DUTCH EAST INDIES or NORTH KARAFUTO.
7 This matter has been touched upon in the recent talk
8 with GERMANY. Furthermore, you must understand that at
9 present negotiations are being carried on for the
10 peaceful acquisition of oil in the DUTCH EAST INDIES.
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           "Councillor KAWAI: In regard to petroleum,
  at yesterday's talk the military and naval authorities
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  too implied that considerable preparations have been
  effected. I wish to have some explanation by the
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  Var Minister and the Navy Minister.
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           "Navy Minister OIKAWA: As for the Navy, we
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  have made preparations for a considerable length of
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         Measures are now being taken regarding synthetic
  time.
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  oil.
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           "War Minister TOJO: The Army has prepared so
  that its materials may last for a considerable period.
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  If an unusually prolonged war should occur, consideration
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  must be given to oil for aircraft and mechanized units."
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           Then I drop down to page 6, the third paragraph
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  from the top of the page.
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(Reading): "Councillor ARIMA: I agree with
the government in its desire to avert an American-Japanese war as demonstrated by this treaty, but if JAPAN and
the UNITED STATES are destined to fight, I think now is
the best time. However, what concerns us most is our lack
of petroleum. Although the Navy Minister said that we
have made appropriate preparations, it cannot be supspeed that, if hostilities began between JAPAN and the
U.S.A., they would terminate in one or two years. Particularly since we are bound to use great quantities of
petroleum in modern wars, we cannot help worrying
whether or not synthetic petroleum and such will suffice
in critical times. Therefore, I would like to have a
reply on this point from the Navy Minister.

"Navy Minister OIKA"A: Since we have just
started with synthetic petroleum, we cannot say that it
will suffice in critical times. Therefore, there is no
other way than to acquire it from the DUTCH EAST INDIES
or NORTH KARAFUTO through peaceful means, and it is
quite likely this will occur. Consequently, when viewed from this point, I think adjustment of relations
with the U.S.S.R. is very important. On the other hand,
if the war is prolonged the Nevy must consider the
economic use of petroleum.

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"Councillor ARIMA: Would there be sufficiency

of petroleum of high octane rating?

"Navy Minister OIKA"A: Yes, in regard to petroleum of high octane rating, the Navy has lately established a special research organ and has been producing it through methods original with the Navy. Moreover, considerable store is on hand."

If the Court please, then down to page 15, beginning with the second paragraph, commencing with the words "Councillor FUKAI."

"Councillor FUKAI: I think that insertion of sentiments in our foreign relations should be avoided, and that diplomacy must always be practiced realistically. In the preamble of the treaty it says: 'let every nation have its rightful place', but since HITLER's words always give us the impression that according to the laws of nature, the weak are the victims of the strong, do you think that GERMANY will be able to understand the true spirit of this preamble?

"Foreign Minister MATSUOKA: The mission of our diplomacy lies in the propagation of the 'Imperial Way'. We do not act solely for the purpose of advantages or disadvantages in respect of our interests. I think that such thoughts as 'the weak are the victims of the strong' should be absolutely rejected.

"Councillor FUKAI: I can understand that, if a

Japanese-American war is inevitable, emphasis in diplomacy must be laid to either GERMANY or the Anglo-Americans at this time, but the result of concluding this treaty may hasten the Japanese-American war.

Therefore, I wish to ask the Prime Minister his determination, whether or not he has the confidence to be able to overcome shortages of munitions and general commodities; the demoralization of thoughts, etc., when he faces them in the most aggravated times.

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"Prime Minister KONOYE: The basic idea of this pact, of course, lies in the aversion of a Japanese-American clash. However, I think that it is necessary for us to show a firm attitude, because if we act humbly, it will only make the UNITED STATES presumptuous. /Translator's Note: May also read ' ... if we make a blunder, the UNITED STATES will become presumptuous.'/ If worst should come to worst, I think that the government must adopt policies with firm resolutions on both diplometic and domestic affairs. The other day when I presented myself at the Imperial Palace to report on this matter, I found His Majesty, the Emperor, also to have possessed a very firm resolution which was most impressive. I hope that this treaty will be satisfactorily executed, even at the risk of my very life. "Councillor FUTAGAMI: Since there has been

much discussion from the standpoint of both diplomacy and economics, I would like to ask some questions on some doubtful points on the treaty itself."

Then I will skip that down to page 17, the next to the last paragraph on page 17.

(Reading): "Councillor OBATA: At this time when JAPAN has not yet solved the Sino-Japanese Incident, if JAPAN is under the obligation to sid GERMANY and ITALY in case the UNITED STATES should participate in the European War, JAPAN will be placed under a very heavy responsibility. On the other hand, I think, the possibility of war breaking out between JAPAN and AMERICA is small. Therefore, will not this treaty be very one-sided?

"Foreign Minister MATSUOKA: Whether AMERICA will participate in the European war or not, or whether war between AMERICA and JAPAN will break out or not, I think is a fifty-fifty possibility. Therefore, I do not believe it to be one-sided.

"Councillor TAKECOE: As the result of this treaty being concluded, what kind of support can GERMANY give JAPAN in case worst comes to worst and in case the Japanese Navy aids GERMANY and ITALY, what kind of aid can it give?

"Foreign Minister MATSUOKA: Such problems as

the kind of help that can be mutually given should be thoroughly investigated at the Joint special committee.

"Chief of the Investigation Committee SUZUKI: I think a Japanese-American war is inevitable regardless of whether this treaty is concluded or not. We, therefore, must carefully observe the expansion of the UNITED STATES Navy and must not neglect our preparations corresponding to this.

"Navy Minister OIKAVA: We are confident of victory in a quick, decisive war against AMERICA, but as for the future, we are steadily drawing various expension plans.

"Councillor ISHII: I see what is written in the last of exchange of statements is that the South Sea Islands under our mandate will remain a territory of JAPAN, provided that we pay a compensation for them. According to Minister MATSUOKA's explanation of this, since the VERSAILLES Treaty has already expired, JAPAN is still continuing a military occupation of the South Sea Islands. Therefore, although it is said that it is necessary for JAPAN to pay compensation to GERMANY to obtain transfer of the islands, according to the VER-SAILLES Treaty, the possession of the mandated islands were transferred to the Five Powers, from which powers JAPAN acquired them. I, therefore, think it is proper

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interpret that the islands are already the possession
of JAPAN and, therefore, I cannot agree to the verbal
declerations of the German Ambersador. Since I admit
that this problem is not a subject for Imperial inquiry,
I am just expressing my opinion for your information.

"Foreign Minister MATSUOKA: According to the
opinion of famous scholars of international law, as
Dr. TACHI, a mandate is not a transfer of territory.
Therefore, aside from the standpoint of legal theories,
and viewing it from the standpoint of practical politics,
it has been my opinion for the past three years that

it is a better policy to receive these islands from GERMANY through some means. From what I have heard, three years ago, the Japanese Navy had proposed to GERMANY through the naval attache in BERLIN the cession

of these islands under certain compensatory terms.

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"Councillor ISHII: I have exchanged opinions with Dr. TACHI concerning this problem. Dr. TACHI's opinion was only that a mandate is not a cession of territory. In regards to the point that GERMANY transferred them to the Five Powers, I believe there is no dispute. Therefore, I can hardly agree to having JAPAN pay a compensation now to GERMANY for the cession of these islands.

"Councillor MITSUCHI: From the questions and

1 interpret that the islands are already the possession of JAPAN and, therefore, I cannot agree to the verbal declarations of the German Ambatsador. Since I admit that this problem is not a subject for Imperial inquiry, I am just expressing my opinion for your information.

6 "Foreign Minister MATSUOKA: According to the opinion of famous scholars of international law, as Dr. TACHI, a mandate is not a transfer of territory. Therefore, aside from the standpoint of legal theories, and viewing it from the standpoint of practical politics. it has been my opinion for the past three years that it is a better policy to receive these islands from 13 GERMANY through some means. From what I have heard, three years ago, the Japanese Navy had proposed to GERMANY through the naval attache in BERLIN the cession 16 of these islands under certain compensatory terms.

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"Councillor ISHII: I have exchanged opinions with Dr. TACHI concerning this problem. Dr. TACHI's opinion was only that a mandate is not a cession of territory. In regards to the point that GERMANY transferred them to the Five Powers, I believe there is no dispute. Therefore, I can hardly agree to having JAPAN pay a compensation now to GERMANY for the cession of these islands.

"Councillor MITSUCHI: From the questions and

answers I have heard throughout this morning, the discussion seems to be chiefly on matters assuming war with AMERICA. However, the moment this treaty is concluded, I think AMERICA's economic sanctions against JAPAN will be greatly increased. In this case, I think the subsistence problem of our people will become serious. Are sufficient preparations made for this? When a treaty of this sort is concluded, the Japanese people are apt to follow GERMANY blindly and there is danger that some may attempt anti-American movements, etc. It is hoped that such acts will be strictly controlled.

"President of the Planning Board HOSHINO: The government is most concerned over the problems of the people's livelihood and will try to meet the situation most satisfactorily.

Prime Minister KONOYE: Since I am in full accord with keeping under control anti-American movements, I intend to carry it out very strictly."

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THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Levin.

MR. LEVIN: Mr. President, I would like to call attention to the fact that the SUZUKI named in this document is not the accused. There is no given name indicated in this document. It is because of the statement just read by Mr. Williams as having been made by SUZUKI that I call the special attention of the Tribunal to that fact.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: I understand that counsel's statement is correct, Mr. President.

We tender in evidence IPS document No.
219P (94) from Volume I of exhibit 58 for identification, which is an excerpt from Ambassador Grew to MATSUOKA, dated October 11, 1940.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 219P (94) will receive exhibit No. 1031.

(Whereupon, the document above mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1031 and received in evidence.)

MR. E. WILLIAMS: I read from prosecution's exhibit No. 1031:

"THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) TO THE JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MATSUOKA).

"Excerpts.

"No. 1653

"TOKYO, October 11, 1940.

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"By virtue of a widesrread system of exchange and trade controls in North China which culminated on June 28, 1940, in the institution of a complete and discriminatory control of exchange, American trade with that area has come to a virtual halt.

"American enterprise having been practically eliminated from Manchuria, and American enterprise and trade in the North China area having been reduced to insignificant proportions, it now appears to be the intent of the military authorities of Japan to force American enterprise and trade out of Shanghai, the most important commercial center in China."

Then we offer in evidence IPS document No.

2 219P (95) from exhibit 58 for identification, which

is an excerpt from the statement by Ambassador Grew

to MATSUOKA, dated October 24, 1940.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

(Whereupon, the document above mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1032 and received in evidence.)

No. 219P (95) will receive exhibit No. 1032.

MR. E. WILLIAMS: We read prosecution's exhibit No. 1032:

"THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW)
TO THE JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MATSUOKA)

"Excerpts. No. 1665
"TOKYO, October 24, 1940.

"EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to inform
Your Excellency that my Government has taken note
that the Japanese military authorities in North
China have since October 1 applied certain so-called
regulations governing the control of inspections
and shipments of raw materials for light industries
in North China. According to the press the regulations are applicable to cotton, hemp, jute, and

other vegetable fibers, animal hair, leather, and furs.

"Failing an early modification of the attitude of the military authorities in China, American firms, both in the United States and in North
China, are destined (1) to suffer large financial
losses on account of stocks held for exportation
under already existing contracts and on account of
large additional unfilled contracts, and (2) to be
eliminated from trade in which they have participated for a long period."

We offer in evidence IPS document No. 1 2200 (8) from exhibit 58 for identification. This is an excerpt from communication by Mr. Grew to 3 MATSUOKA, dated November 15, 1940. THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 5 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 6 No. 220C (8) will receive exhibit No. 1033. 7 (Whereupon, the document above 8 mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit 9 No. 1033 and received in evidence.) 10 MR. E. WILLIAMS: We read prosecution's 11 exhibit 1033: 12 "ORAL STATEMENT BY THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR 1.5 (GREW) TO THE JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS 14 (MATSUOKA) ." 15 There is a footnote on this: 16 "Notation: 'Left with Mr. Terazaki, Director 17 of the American Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Office, 18 b the American First Secretary, Mr. Crocker, Novem-19 ber 15, 1940, as from the American Ambassador to the 20 Minister for Foreign Affairs. ' 21 "I am informed by our Consul at Hanoi that 22 certain merchandise owned by American interests is 23 being refused re-export permits from Indo-China by 24

the Indo-Chinese authorities chiefly as a result of

Japanese pressure brought upon these authorities. 1 "Detailed information regarding such mer-2 chandise is known to the Indo-China authorities, to 3 our Consul, and presumably to the Japanese. 4 "I have been instructed to request that appropriate steps be taken to put an end to this 6 unwarranted interference with the shipments of goods and merchandise owned by Americans." 8 We offer in evidence IPS document No. 219P (71) taken from exhibit for identification 58. 10 This is an excerpt from a statement by Ambassador 11 Grew to MATSUOKA, dated November 26, 1940. 12 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 13 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 14 No. 219P (71) will receive exhibit No. 1034. 15 16 (Whereupon, the document above 17 mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit 18 No. 1034 and received in evidence.) 19 MR. E. WILLIAMS: I read prosecution's 20 exhibit No. 1034: 21 "THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) TO THE JAPINESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MATSUOKA) 22 "Excerpt. "TOKYO, November 26, 1940 23 "EXCELLENCY: Acting under instructions from 24 my Government, I have the honor formally to protest 25

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 against the actions of the Japanese military at Hanoi who recently took into custody Mr. Robert V. Rinden, American Vice-Consul, and the United Press correspondent, Mr. Melville Jacoby.

"My Government considers that the employment of force and the threat of arm against an American official and the individual accompanying him
were especially flagrant. I am constrained to recall that it has been necessary for my Government
to point out to Your Excellency's Government, in connection with a deplorably large number of incidents
involving American nationals and the Japanese military in China, that if the Japanese Government were
to issue strict and effective instructions that American citizens should be treated with civility by
the Japanese military, incidents of the character
described above would not occur.

"With reference to the incident which is the subject of the present note, I wish to invite the perticular attention of Your Excellency to the fact that Mr. Rinden and his campanion were threatened with rifles which were pointed at them, and were kept in custody by Japanese soldiers, and that the Japanese soldiers did not withdraw until the arrival of the French authorities, despite the fact that Mr. Rinden

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identified himself as an American Vice-Corsul to a
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      Japanese officer who spoke and understood Inglish."
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	1	We offer in evidence IPS document No.
	2	1339A (4) which is a memorandum of KASE, Secretary
	. 3	to the Foreign Minister, dated December 9, 1940, to
	4	OTA, Chief of the European Department.
	5	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
	6	CLERY OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
	7	No. L339A (4) will receive exhibit No. 1035.
a)	8	(Whereupon, the document above
	9	mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit
	10	No. 1035 and received in evidence.)
	11	THE FRESIDENT: "e will recess for fifteen
	12	minutes.
	13	(Whereupon, at 1445, a recess was
	14	taken until 1100, after which the proceed-
	15	ings were resumed as follows:)
A b r a m & M or s c	16	MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International
	17	Military Tribuncl for the Far East is now resumed.
	13	THE PRESIDENT: Major Furness.
	19	MR. FURNESS: If the Court please, I wish
		to object to the introduction of this document unless
	21	the statement which is referred to in the first para-
	22	graph is also submitted. Without such statement we don't
	23	know what they are talking about, and I submit in
	24	that case the document has no probative value.
	25	THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Hardin.

MR. HARDIN: It is presumed that what follows is the memorandum. This is a document that was presented by the Foreign Office to our section. It does say copy attached -- copy herewith. Now, I don't have a certificate saying there is no copy, none was located, but the certificate describes the number of pages, I presume.

THE PRESIDENT: Three pages?
MR. HARDIN: Yes, sir.

MR. FURNESS: It is quite obvious, if the Court please, that the document which is submitted here is not three pages long; furthermore, it refers to a summary, and whether that is in the original document -- whether this is a summary of it, I don't know.

THE PRESILENT: Look at the original.

MR. FURNESS: The original, of course, is in
Japanese.

THE PRESIDENT: How many pages have you?

MK. FURNESS: It is three pages, but I submit again that regardless of that, unless -- regardless of where it comes from, unless we have the statement referred to we don't know what is being talked
about between Ambassador Craigie and Foreign Minister
MATSUOKA, and therefore the summary, or whatever it is,

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1 has no probative value.
           THE PRESIDENT: It does not follow because it
3 isn't all there that it isn't admissible. Its pro-
4 hative value is reduced, and perhaps very seriously so.
We should have it if it is available. I suppose you
6 would have produced it had it been available to you?
           MR. HARDIN: Yes, sir, if it had been avail-
  able we would have had it.
           THE PRESIDENT: But you can't say one thing
  or the other really; you haven't investigated it?
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           Mk. HARDIN: No, sir, I haven't personally.
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           THE PRESIDENT: Well, tender it for identi-
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             In the meantime make a search for the balance.
  fication.
14
           MR. HARDIN: I will have the Investigation
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  section do so as soon as I can get to them.
16
           Yes, sir, I tender it for identification.
17
           CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
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  No. 1339A (4) is given exhibit No. 1035 for identi-
19
   fication only.
20
                 (Whereupon, the document above referred
21
       to, previously marked prosecution's exhibit No.
22
       1035 in evidence, was marked prosecution's ex-
23
       hibit No. 1035 for identification.)
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           Mk. HALDIN: We next offer in evidence IPS
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   document No. 2200 (9) from exhibit for identification
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58, Volume 2. This is an excerpt from a communication from The American Ambassador in Japan (Grew) to the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs (MATSUOKA) dated December 17, 1940.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 220C (9) will receive exhibit No. 1036.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
No. 1036 and was received in evidence.)

MR. HARDIN: (heading)

"THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) TO THE
JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MATSUOKA).

"Excerpt. TOKYO, December 17,1940.

"No. 1714

"EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to invite the attention of Your Excellency to the fact that on November 15 an oral statement was left with Mr. TERAZAKI as from the American Ambassador to the Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that, according to information from the American Consul at Hanoi, certain merchandise owned by American interests was being refused re-export permits from Indochina by the Indochinese authorities, chiefly as a result of Japanese pressure brought upon those

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authorities.

"On November 30, in a conversation with Your Excellency, I made further representations in this matter, repeating those made on November 15."

We offer in evidence IPS document 220C (10), which is from exhibit for identification 58, Volume 2. This is oral statement of Mr. Grew to Mr. MATSUOKA, referring to the Ambassador's note to the Foreign Minister December 17, 1940. May I ask that this be identified as an exhibit in evidence?

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 220C (10) will receive exhibit No. 1037.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
No. 1037 and was received in evidence.)
MR. HARDIN: We read prosecution's exhibit
1037:

"OKAL STATEMENT BY THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR (GREW) TO THE JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MATSUOKA).

"Referring to the American Ambassador's note to His Excellency the Imperial Minister for Foreign Affairs, No. 1714 dated December 17, 1940, relating to the interference by the Indochinese authorities,

chiefly as a result of Japanese pressure brought upon those authorities, with the shipments of American owned goods and merchandise, the American Ambassador is now instructed to express to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs the opinion that it would not be consistent with humanitarian considerations to interfere with the movement of supplies of the Red Cross at present in Indochira, in addition to being unwarranted on other grounds. At least a part of the Red Cross supplies under reference, incidentally, was made possible by the contributions of American citizens."

We now offer in evidence IPS document 2529A (31), which is a newspaper excerpt, duly authenticated, regarding announcement of the new mobilization law.

It isn't 2529A (31). 2531A.

MR. FULNESS: Referring to exhibit 1037, request that we be furnished with the note referred to, No. 1714, dated December 17, 1940.

MR. HARDIN: If it please the Court, this is a publication in a newspaper and it is the whole thing that was published in the paper, the whole document.

THE PRESIDENT: I think these applications should be made in Chambers to me if the document is

not given by the prosecution on application by the 1 defense. The time of the Court itself should not 2 be spent on matters of this type; that is to say, on 3 applications for documents that are generally dealt 4 with in Chambers. 5 6 The last document tendered is admitted on 7 the usual terms. 8 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 9 No. 2531A will receive exhibit No. 1038. 10 (Whereupon, the document above re-11 ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit 12 No. 1038 and was received in evidence.) 13 MR. HARDIN: We will read prosecution's 14 exhibit 1038: "EXTRACT FROM 'THE TOKYO NICHI NICHI' May 3, 1941. 16 "DEFENSE SECURITY LAW 17 "MEASURE TO GO INTO EFFECT ON MAY 10. 18 "The National Defense Security Law will be 19 enforced on May 10, it was decided in the Cabinet 20 Meeting on May 2. 21 "Detailed regulations governing the enforce-22 ment of the law will be published on May 10." 23

MR. HARDIN: We offer in evidence IPS document 1339A (2) which is a proposal from Mr. Eden to Mr. SHIGEMITSU, dated February 7, 1941.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 1339A (2) will receive exhibit No. 1039.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1039 and received in evidence.)

MR. HARDIN: (Reading)

"Proposel from Foreign Minister Eden to Ambassador SHIGEMITSU on 7 February, Shows 16, 1941.

"1. At the first interview with the Foreign Minister efter the formation of the KONOYE Cabinet, Ambassador Craigie expressed the hope that the new cabinet would collaborate and settle the relations between the two countries by friendly measures as did the preceding Cabinet. To this Foreign Minister MATSUOKA replied that the Cabinet was considering carefully the general policy for the future, and added at the same time, as his unofficial idea, that a general improvement of the relation between Japan and England could not be hoped for, and a strained situation between Japan and England in the future was inevitable.

"Two days after the interview occurred the arrests of many Englishmen in Japan and Korea, on which

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1 a joint statement by the War Minister and Minister of 2 Justice was issued, giving generally the impression of 3 the existence of an English spy ring in Japan. But the result of the trial was that they were punished for trivial matters, and there was nothing about spies.

"This was the general situation in July and August. In September Japan concluded the Tripartite Pact and formally joined on the side of Germany and Italy, enemies of Britain. The public speeches of statesmen and the tendency of the press were deepening more and more anxiety on the part of England.

"2. Foreign Minister MATSUOKA said in his official statement that the Tripartite Pact was a pact of peace, and you also stated that the main policy of Japan was to overcome the difficulties of the China affair and restore order in Esst Asia. But judging from facts which have happened since then, and considering all the indications that the sphere of influence of Japan is being enlarged to dominate East Asia, frankly the above explanation is hard to understand.

"In this connection the British Government wishes to call your ttention to the impropriety of the statement of Foreign Minister MATSUOKA concerning Japanese aspirations in Burma. As regards Indo-China and Thailand also, recent situations have not mitigated

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the strained relation in the Far East at all. Foreign Minister MATSUOKA said that only Japan had the right to mediate in the conflicts in the Far East, but the British Government can not approve of this claim.

"If the purpose of the mediation were merely to bring about a settlement of conflicts, Britain would welcome it like all the other countries. But we have received the disquieting information that Japan had brought pressure to bear on Indo-China and Thailand, and we have come to entertain misgivings whether Japan were not using this mediation as a pretext to secure far-reaching political and military concessions from both these countries -- e.g. newspaper information reports that Camran Bay and all the existing Air-fields will be used by Japan.

"3. The most important fact is the recent report of Ambassador Craigie, informing us that 'In Japan the prevailing impression is that the crisis in the Far Fast will occur within these two or three weeks.'

"What do these facts mean? Who is challenging whom? Should we believe that a sort of advance planned by Japan will be carried out simultaneously with the German attack on England proper, and if so should Britain assume that her territories in the Far East are in danger of an attack by Japan? It is hard for me to

understand the situation. Geographically Japan is in an advantageous position, so that she can remain entirely aloof from the calamity of war if she so desires, and moreover she is not being threatened by any one, certainly not by England.

"If I may be allowed to speak frankly, it seems to me that Japan has many reasons for not intervening in another war after four years of the China Incident. In my opinion, Japan can not but recognize her reason for being on unfriendly terms with Britain and the United States, but as proved by history, it can not be denied that the prosperity of Japan was at its best when she was at friendly relations with Britain and the United States. So it is hard for me to understand the reason why Ambassador Craigie reported of the sphere of crisis increasing in Japan. It seems to me that the aim of the Japanese statesmen is to indicate the approach of a huge confusion.

is impossible to disregard the above signs and protents, and that it is necessary to tell you clearly our standpoint. England has territories in the Far East, but she has no aggressive intentions; however, she does not intend to sacrifice these territories by orders from any other country. And furthermore, it is impossible

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to approve of the principle that Japan is the sole country having the right to administer and control the destiny of all the inhabitants (including the English) in the Far East. There is no doubt that Britain will protect her territories in the Far East with the utmost vigor, if they should be attacked, and defend the security and welfare of the inhabitants.

"The first point is as follows: There is no objection to Japan deciding her own policy, but as an old friend and a former /llied Power, I do not think I will bring down the wrath of Japan upon myself for saying the following thing -- that I have and pray that the policy about to be taken up by Japan will not lead to a terrible disaster. And moreover I can not but hope that, by cooperating with Germany and Italy, Japan will not depart from her wise caution and good sense with which she built up her great national power and prosperity in the past.

"The second point is as follows: It is rumored that concerning the war situation, news advantageous to Pritain is being suppressed in Javan, and there is propagated an idea that Pritain is a decadent country on the bring of ruin. But as you know, the real spirit of the English people of today is no such thing."

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Not only is there a strong determination of an absolute national unity throughout the whole of the British Empire, but also England possesses vest natural resources and has unlimited assistance from America. Whatever happens it is obvious that the British Empire will not fail in this conflict. Germany is exaggerating that she can conquer this Island Empire, but we are convinced of her failure. We averted the crisis in September last year, and at present England's power on land, on sea, and in the air has increased greatly from that time. The English nation is convinced that Germany will fail in her attempt to conquer England, and be defeated in this war."

We wish to offer in evidence prosecution document No. 1131, taken from the Japanese Foreign Office and duly authenticated. This is a series of telegrams, all dated the early part of the year 1941, relating to British-Japanese diplomatic relations.

THE PRESIDENT: Major Furness.

MR. FURNESS: If the Court place, I believe that the Court will find that the first four pages of this document and the first paragraph on page 5 down to No. 79 is a duplicate of the document which the prosecutor has just read.

THE PRESIDENT: It contains a lot of what

Mr. Eden said but I can't say that it doesn't extend to anything else. However, Mr. Hardin may not intend to read it all. Well, it seems to be confined to the same conversation between the Japanese Ambassador and Mr. Eden. We have the exact words of each and then a summary.

MR. HARDIN: I believe I will submit it in evidence and read beginning on page 5, not read down to there because it does appear to be in substance the same as the other.

THE PRESIDENT: It does look like a reply by the accused SHIGEMITSU to Mr. Eden, doesn't it?

MR. HARDIN: I believe I will withdraw the entire document since the other seems to cover the other part.

1	THE PRESIDENT: The preceding document showed
2	what Mr. Eden represented, Mr. Eden's appeal. But
3	this shows SHIGEMITSU's answer to Mr. Eden.
4	MR. HARDIN: Yes, sir. I think it is fair
5	to go ahead and read it.
6	THE PRESIDENT: Yes, the conversation.
7	MR. HARDIN: Yes.
8	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
9	1131 will be given exhibit No. 1040.
10	(Whereupon, the document above
11	mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit
12	No. 1040 and received in evidence.)
13	THE PRESIDENT: Are you going to read it?
14	MR. HARDIN: Yes, sir.
15	I am reading from page 5:
16	the true of the part of the state of the sta
17	"General No. 3341 In ciphers: London to Foreign
18	"Despetched: 8 February 1941 (SHOWA 16) afternoon "Received: 9 February 1941 (SHOWA 16) evening "Jurisdiction: European Section
19	"To: Foreign Minister MATSUOKA From: Ambessedor
20	"No. 79
21	"Ambassador: Will this representation be made in
22	Tokyo else?
23	"Eden: No, I wish to state it as my unreserved opin-
24	ion through you here.
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such a critical situation exists. Of course, under the present circumstances, I have no intention of criticizing the report of your Ambassador. However, I would like to be permitted to ask you a few questions from the impression I gained from your 'expose,' though I shall refrain from exchanging views regarding the detailed substance of it.

"Eden: I shall hear them.

"Ambassador: From what you have just said, I have received the impression that you have explained to me to make clear for the last time the standpoint of Great Britain under the promise that Anglo-Japanese relations are fast approaching the last stage. However, it is necessary for us to endeavour to the last, to evert the worst, even if no improvement can be made in the relations between the two countries. It is with this purpose in mind that I have done my best so fer. In what you have told me just now, you have stated almost solely the unilateral view of Britain, but failed to show an understanding attitude of Japan's essertions, making only refutations and indicating the intention of disapproval. Moreover, I think that, in discussing this unfortunate aggravation of Anglo-Japanese relations, we should commence it from at least ten years ago, if not from 1904. You thoroughly know the

history of the past ten years. To cite an instance, 1 you have mentioned in your explanation Japan's cooperation with Britain's enemy, but Britain has consistently 3 held the policy of siding Japan's enemies. The fact 4 is that present aggravations of relations actually came mostly from this standpoint. (to be continued)" 6 "Ganeral No. 3344 In Ciphers: London to Foreign Ministry "Despatched: 8 February 1941 (SHO'A 16) afternoon 8 9 February 1941 (SHOWA 16) evening "Peceived: "Jurisdiction: European Section 9 10 "(Telegram No. 79 continued) "Furthermore, it is geographically quite natural that 11 12 Japan should hold the leading position in Fast Asia, 13 and this cannot be helped. It is no different from 14 the special interests which Pritain and the United 15 States of America feel in the neighboring geographi-16 cally related countries. You have mentioned French 17 Indo-Chine, and seemed to view our movements there, 18 etc., with suspicion, but we have not invaded any Bri-19 tish territory. It is beyond my comprehension that 20 you should say that you are unable to understand the 21 important interests, both political and economic, which erise from geographical position. In stating the crisis in Anglo-American relations, you do not try to 24 understand the other party's standpoint, but rather 25 find fault with the Japan's policy and law the blame

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on Jepen. To you think that such an explanation will
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    serve to svert the impending crisis?
    "Eden: My principal aim is to avert the crisis for
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    the sake of the two countries, and nothing more.
    Having received such a report, I cannot overlook it,
    but will do everything possible. To your Excellency
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    I have unbosomed myself and frankly informed you of
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    our feelings with the intention of successfully coping
    with this critical situation. I should be alad to
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    hear further from the Japanese government as to its
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    views on today's conversations.
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    "Ambassador: I, too have snoken to you without re-
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    serve, but I have no intention to give my opinion in
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    detail on the roints mentioned by you today. Of
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    course I shall transmit to my government what you
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    have said."
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    "Ceneral No. 3338
                             In Ciphers: London to Foreign
                                                Ministry
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                     8 February 1941 (SHOWA 16) afternoon
9 February 1941 (SHOWA 16) evening
    "Desprtched:
    "Rcceived:
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    "To: Foreign Minister MATSUOKA From:
                                              Imbrasedor
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                                              SHIGEMITSU
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    "Jurisdiction: European Section
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    "Telegram No. 80
23
             "In the conference with Foreign Minister
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    Eden, which I mentioned in telegram No. 78, he explain-
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    ed that the report from Craigie pointed out, besides
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those matters, that Japan's relations with Germany and Italy were becoming 'mrogressively' intimate, and that the German 'hold' on Japan was growing tighter."

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We now offer in evidence IPS document 1132, taken from the Japanese Foreign Office and duly authenticated. It is a telegram from MATSUOKA to SHIGEMITSU numbered Secret Code Cable 46, and dated 13 February 1941.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 1132 will be given exhibit No. 1041.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1041, and was received in evidence.)

MR. HARDIN: (Reading)

"Telegram to Ambassador SHIGEMITSU, London, from MATSUOKA, the Foreign Minister. No. 46
"Concerning your telegram No. 77.

"Ambassador Craigie also wishes an interview with me which will be held within a few days. In the meantime, I want you to hand telegram

No. 47 to Foreign Minister Eden, and at the same time explain to the Minister the reason I express so unreserved an opinion is because I feel so close to him, as I was acquainted with Foreign Minister Eden ever since we were in Geneva. Also Ambassador Craigie's report of the approach of a critical point in Far East, etc. is really a ridiculous

fantasy. (The Vice Minister also called the Ambassador's attention on this point on the 12th.) Of course it is not only groundless but also there is no intention on our part to make trouble with Britain which I wish you would make a verbal representation to him.

"Further some English newspapers, misunderstanding our real motives, are recently publishing stimulative news and editorials as if Japan
would try to start military actions at any moment,
which would only serve to make the relations of both
countries worse and be harmful and there would be
nothing to be gained by it. Will you kindly call
his attention to this point to stop them?"

We offer in evidence IPS document 1339-A(6), which is a cablegram dated February 13, 1941, from MATSUOKA to SHIGEMITSU.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 1339-A(6) will be given exhibit No. 1042.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1042, and was received in evidence.)

MR. HARDIN: I read prosecution exhibit 1042.

"Telegram No. 4399 despatched 8:00 P.M.,

February 13, 1941, Code No. 46, from Fereign Minister

MATSUOKA to Ambassador SHIGEMITSU in England on 1 Delivering Locument in English to England. 2 "Regarding your Cable No. 77--" 3 4 THE PRESIDENT: It is the same telegram, I am told by a colleague. It appears to be No. 77. 5 6 MR. HARLIN: We withdraw the second. 7 THE PRESIDENT: You have our permission. 8 (Whereupon, prosecution's exhibit 9 No. 1042, heretofore admitted in evidence, 10 was, upon permission of the Tribunal, withdrawn.) 11 MR. HARDIN: We now offer in evidence 12 IPS document 220-C(11) from exhibit for identification 13 No. 58, Volume II, which is a statement from Ambassador 14 Grew to Foreign Minister MATSUOKA, dated February 13, 15 1941. 16 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 17 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 18 No. 220-C(11) will be given exhibit No. 1042. 19 (Whereupon, the document above 20 referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit 21 No. 1042, and was received in evidence.) 22 MR. HARDIN: (Reading) 23 "THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) 24 TO THE JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN 25 AFFAIRS (MATSUOKA)

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"Excerpt. TOKYO, February 13, 1941. "No. 1744 "According to recent information received by my Government not only do Japanese officials in Indo-China continue to interfere with the granting of permits by appropriate authorities of Indo-China for the re-export of American-owned merchan-dise, but in one instance at least have caused these authorities to revoke a valid permit previous-ly issued for the re-export of petroleum products owned by an American firm, the Standard Vacuum 011 Company."

We now offer in evidence IPS document 220-C(20) from exhibit for identification 58, Volume II, which is an excerpt from a memorandum of Secretary of State Hull, dated February 14, 1941.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 220-C(20) will receive exhibit No. 1043.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1043, and was received in evidence.)

MR. HARDIN: (Reading)

"MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
"(VASHINGTON,) February 14, 1941
"Excerpts.

"I accompanied the new Japanese Ambassador to the President's office and sat through the conference between the President and the Ambassador....

"The President then said that of course it is manifest that the present relations between the two countries are not good; that they are in fact getting worse, or to use a well-known expression, they are 'deteriorating'... The President affirmed two or three times the view that the American people, while not bitter as yet, are thoroughly and seriously concerned and to a more or less increasing extent, at

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the course of Japan.

"He then referred to the movements of Japan southward down to Indo-China and the Spratly Islands and other localities in that area, as having given this country very serious concern. He said that the entry of Japan into the Tripartite agreement is like-wise giving this country the same serious concern, especially from the viewpoint that Japan is supposed to have divested herself of her sovereign authority to deal with the question of peace and war and to leave it to the Tripartite signatories led by Germany. The President went over this the second time with increased emphasis as to the heavy signs of concern it had created among the American people.

"He then said that in view of all these serious conditions which are becoming increasingly worse and which seriously call for attention, it occurred to him that the Japanese Ambassador might find it advisable and agreeable as he, the President, does, to sit down with the Secretary of State and other State Department officials and review and reexamine the important phases of the relations between the two countries, at least during the past four or five years, and frankly discuss all of their phases and ascertain just when and how points of divergence developed and their effects,

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and bring the whole situation in these respects up to date in order to see if our relations could not be improved. The President said there is plenty of room in the Pacific area for everbody, and he repeated this statement with emphasis."

We now offer in evidence IPS document 1330-A(1) taken from the Japanese Foreign Office and duly authenticated, which is a telegram from MATSUOKA to SHIGEMITSU, dated February 17, 1941.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

Lo not start reading until all the judges have their copies.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 1339-A(1) will be given exhibit No. 1044.

MR. HARLIN: (Reading)

"No. 4894. CIPHER TELEGRAM FROM Y. MATSUOKA, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO M. SHIGEMITSU, AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.

"TELEGRAM NO. 49 (STRICTLY CONFIDENTAL) SENT ON 14
FEB. (SHOWA 16), 1941, 'RE THE BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER'S PROPOSAL.'

"Concerning your telegram No. 77, the present proposal by the British Foreign Minister which is based on the report from Ambassador Craigie seems to have been made under the presumption or fear that Japan would acquire military bases etc. in Thailand and French Indo-China by taking advantage of the arbitration conference between Thailand and French Indo-China, and then commence military action against England in the South Seas concurrently with Germany's

landing strategy against England. It is difficult to understand on what grounds Ambassador Craigie based the above alarming report to his home government. When the Vice-Minister visited him on the 12th he said, in reply to the Vice-Minister's question that he knew well from past experiences that Japan's politics and diplomacy were controlled by the military, and that he had made the present report based on the speech and action of military men of responsibility. So, to make sure, I at once carefully privately investigated in various fields whether such facts existed, but I could find no such facts. On the other hand, in view of the fact that every influential newspaper in England is loudly reporting the crisis between Japan and England, the present proposition. seems to be trying to check Japan's advance to the South, if only for the present besides containing the strategic motive of turning America's interest toward Thailand and French Indo-China and cementing the cooperation between England and America in this sphere. Although I think you have noticed this matter already, I am sending you our observation for you to bear in mind.

"Wired to the Ambassador in America."

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MR. BLEWETT: If the Court please, this certificate attached to exhibit 1044 refers to four pages dated February 17, 1941. We have here but one page, and the date seems to be 14th of February.

MR. HARDIN: There is a discrepancy in the cate, but it identifies the same telegram by number, 4894.

THE PRESIDENT: The original has four pages and it bears the date 14th February. It happens to be in Roman notation and not in Japanese.

There was no need for the intervention, Mr. Blewett. You could have looked at the original, as we did.

MR. HARLIN: Now, if it please the Tribunal, we wish to offer in evidence IPS document 1150, taken from the Japanese Foreign Office, and it has been duly authenticated. This document is headed "Turning Point of the Pacific Tide." It is a series of cablegrams exchanged between MATSUOKA and various ministers in Britain, U.S.A., Canada, and so forth. We ask that it be identified as an exhibit.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 1150 will be given exhibit No. 1045.

(Whereupon, the document above

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referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
No. 1045, and was received in evidence.)

MR. HARDIN: (Reading) "Cipher Telegram.
Dated 7 p.m. February 14, Showa 16 /1941.

"Foreign Office Cable #4490, 4492.

"Charge of U.S. Affairs Dept.

"To Ambassador NOMURA from Foreign Minister MATSUOKA. On Enlightening the Government and People of the United States. No. 68 Strictly Confidential.

"During the recent interpellations in the Diet, the present Foreign Minister expressed our attitude and determination in a straightforward way to urge reconsideration on the part of the United States, and is making efforts to make it clear that our national resources have not been so much used up. On your arrival at your post please make continuous effort to make the President and the leading members in the Government and among the people know the Japan's real intention thoroughly, explaining to them fully, as you think fit, the following points.

"1. It is the inherent mission of both Japan and the U.S.A. to rescue modern civilization from catastrophe and bring peace and prosperity to the Pacific, and it is our cuty to cooperate with each other to accomplish this mission. On the basis of this faith,

Japan wishes for the development of diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States. But unfortunately, the American Government and people do not try to understand Japan's real intention; instead, they misconstrue Japan's action as a threat towards the United States. This is a grave and very dangerous illusion, indeed. Japan is strongly determined to execute the already-fixed policy at the risk of the nation's destiny. America should believe that, on the basis of information, that there are still some people among the Japanese who are secretly opposed to the Tripartite Pact (of course, there are, but there are such people in any country); or, over-estimating the exhaustion of Japan's natural resources due to the prolongation of the China Incident, a strong attitude on the part of the United States would easily cause a split in the public opinion of Japan or make us give in, it would be a ridiculous misconstruction and we are afraid that such a belief would bring quite unfathomable results.

"2. The consumption of our national resources is true to some extent, but not as bad as is propagated in America. It is our national character to repel strongly any pressure from foreign countries, so if the United States should purposely obstruct our way, the Japanese Government and people will unit more firmly

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and determine strongly to accomplish the national policy, regardless of sacrifice. Suppose the United States should be in the same situation as Japan, the Americans also would probably see the same result as the Japanese, because in this point the American character is very similar to that of the Japanese. So the Americans should easily understand such psychology and also the result caused by this psychology. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the Japanese are very grateful to those who are quite sympathetic and have complete understanding towards them and at times will even make concessions or compromises under the circumstances, even if it is not logical. The intelligent public of America should take these characteristics into consideration."

THE PRESIDENT: Pausing there, several of my colleagues seem to think that this has been read before.

MR. HARDIN: I am advised that there has been a document on that. With that in mind--

THE PRESIDENT: It may have been a cabinet decision communicated then to Mr. NOMURA, Admiral NOMURA.

MR. HARDIN: I submit the whole document in evidence without reading.

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I now offer IPS document 1133 in evidence, 1 found in the Japanese Foreign Office, which has been duly authenticated, and which is a telegram from MATSUOKA to SHIGEMITSU dated February 17, 1941. THE PRESIDENT: Major Furness. 5 MR. FURNESS: If the Court please, this 6 amparently is a duplicate of exhibit 1044. THE PRESIDENT: It is a long way back, isn't it? That particular one wasn't read. MR. FURNESS: Not the next exhibit -- the 10 one that was just introduced. 11 12 THE PRESIDENT: Telegram 77 was read once 13 today but it was tendered twice. 14 MR. FURNESS: This is telegram 49, sir. This is a reference to a cablegram, number FF5. I 15 16 don't know what that means. The substance of the 17 telegram is exactly the same and has reference to 18 the same matter -- merely appears to have been 19 translated by someone else. 20

MR. HARDIN: I submit 1133 in evidence without reading.

THE PRESIDENT: If it is the same in substance --

> MR. HARDIN: The same in substance. THE PRESIDENT: -- Why not withdraw it?

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MR. FURNESS: It is exactly the same telegram.

MR. HARDIN: It is sufficiently alike that I believe I will withdraw it.

THE PRESIDENT: You have the Tribunal's permission to do so.

MR. HARDIN: We offer in evidence IPS document 1339A(5), which is a reply to Eden dated February 17.

THE PRESIDENT: We think we won't accept any more documents today.

Will you put on your headphones?

We ask you to make a careful revision of your documents, Mr. Hardin, with a view to preventing what has been happening this afternoon, the tendering of the same document twice or even three times.

You might examine that document you have just withdrawn. It is possible there is something different in that from the earlier copies of the telegram.

We will adjourn now until half past nine tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 1600, an adjournment was taken until 0930, Thursday, 7 November, 1946.)

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